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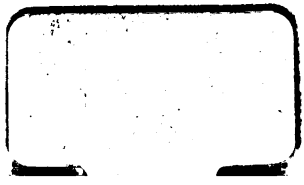

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1. Spain — Social life,
2. Italy — " "
3. The Spanish
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CHARACTERISTICAL VIEWS

OF THE

PAST AND OF THE PRESENT

State,

OF THE

PEOPLE OF SPAIN AND ITALY.

ADDRESSED

TO AN ENGLISH TRAVELLER.

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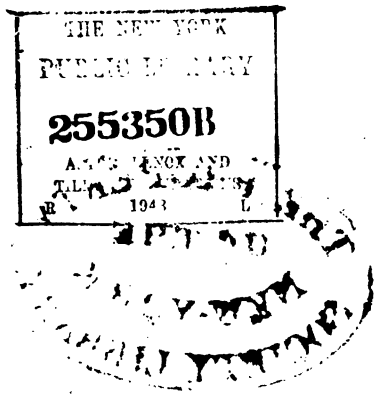
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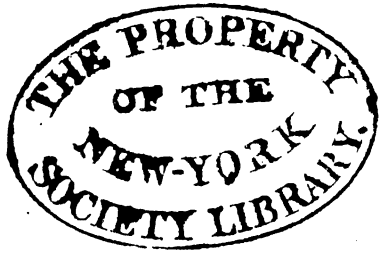

SECTION I.

Spain, at the close of the Fifteenth, and commencement of the Sixteenth Century—Conquest of the Moorish Kingdoms—Ximenes—Alteration of the Spanish Character, occasioned by the Discovery of America—Inquisition; its Effects—Excessive Bigotry of the Spaniards—Remarkable Instances of it—Relics of their superstitious Practices in the low Countries.

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VIEWS, *&c.*

SECTION I.

THERE is no country in Europe, of which the rise and the decline are more deserving of your attention than Spain: the former was sudden, and did not last two centuries; the latter, as soon as it began, was speedily accelerated, through a concurrence of almost every cause that contributes to the downfal of kingdoms.

The greatness and splendour of the Spanish monarchy was not owing to the skill of politicians, or to the exploits of heroes. It arose entirely from fortuitous circumstances: the matrimonial union of the house of Castile with that of Arragon, and of both with that of Austria, produced at once the most extensive empire in Europe since that of Charlemain.

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the many domestic difficulties it had so long struggled with. The new world was just discovered, and its exhaustless riches were become the annual tribute of Spain. Her navigation was daily increasing, and the trade of her maritime provinces augmented in a degree that brought incalculable wealth into every part of the kingdom. Elated with those astonishing prospects of opulence that were continually opening to their view, the Spaniards felt a warmth and resolution to undertake and atchieve the most daring adventures. Nothing remained but to diffuse the happy effects of their activity throughout the realm by the salutary measures of a wise government.

This object Ximenes proposed as the ultimate labour of his latter and better days. He had, by means of a brilliant administration, acquired that respect and deference which were necessary to the prosecution of his designs, and he entered upon them with an ardour equal to their importance. Without going into a detail of his immense labours, suffice it to say, that he spared no pains, and omitted no exertions in framing and enforcing

the most prudent regulations for the domestic welfare of the community. He introduced the strictest order into every department of the state He instituted a number of judicious and beneficial arrangements for the service of all classes, and promoted a variety of reforms for public and private utility. The wisdom and moderation with which he exercised the authority intrusted to him, and above all the impartiality and personal disinterestedness that accompanied his proceedings, secured to him the approbation of all the worthy part of society; and he had no enemies but those who sought their own ends in preference to those he had at heart for the common good. He has been reproached for his proud treatment of the great; but they had exercised such oppression, that it was necessary to humble them. With much more truth he was accused of breach of faith towards the Mahometans and the Jews, whom, in violation of solemn treaties, he persecuted with great rigour and barbarity. Here his conduct admits of no apology: he was under the influence of those superstitious and inhuman maxims that have so often converted

the professors of christianity into the worst of men.

Among the numerous institutions that reflect honour upon his memory, those that related to the education of the young nobility and gentry, employed his principal solicitude, from a just persuasion that through the cultivation or the neglect of their youth, they become the chief support and ornament of their country, or the principal causes of its disgrace.

The extraordinary genius of this great minister died with him. Though he was succeeded by men of abilities, Spain has never since beheld his equal. Owing to the provident plans he had formed, a considerable number of eminent men were produced; but those among them who were at the head of affairs, did not imitate his attention to domestic prosperity, and were wholly taken up with transactions abroad, in conformity to the unfortunate ambition of their princes. Hence a fatal relaxation gradually ensued of that internal polity over which Ximenes had been so watchful. Through the neglect of those re-

gulations, and the want of that orderly spirit he had been at such pains to introduce into every department, the administration of the state was enervated, and became incompetent to its various duties: the kingdom felt of course the fatal effects of those deficiencies. Through indolence, and consequent unskilfulness in the management of its most important concerns, it suffered an ignominious deprivation of the immense resources that prodigious wealth and immense dominions would naturally have supplied.

Thus, in the midst of ostentatious but unreal power and greatness, Spain was finally baffled in its towering enterprises, and foiled by nations much less opulent and less powerful than the Spaniards appeared to be.

One of the most infamous and lamentable consequences of the negligence prevailing in the Spanish court, was the little solicitude it expressed for the good government of its American acquisitions. This, indeed, was a sequel to that spirit of plunder and rapacity which marked the Spanish invaders and conquerors of those unhappy countries. The

first adventurers in that vast hemisphere, who were the most ignorant and barbarous of their countrymen, seemed to think themselves at liberty to range throughout it without controul: like beasts of prey, they thirsted for blood and carnage, and massacred whole nations for their gold. To the disgrace of the Spanish name these enormities went unpunished; and while remittances of illgotten treasures were pouring into the ports of Spain, hardly, if any notice was taken of the criminal means that were used to obtain them.

The success of these freebooters kindled the rage of depredation in all classes: they swarmed from every part of Spain, and peopled the new world with the most worthless inhabitants of the old. Hence avarice and cruelty began to characterise the nation: that generosity of sentiments and actions for which it had been so renowned, gave way to a ferociousness of soul that impelled them to the commission of barbarities, of which no parallel is found in the annals of modern ages, if in those of mankind.

It was to stem this torrent of iniquity, and

to arrest the progress of those evil examples which were hourly perverting the disposition of his countrymen, that Ximenes exerted so much vigour and zeal in framing the strictest ordinances to that intent. But the incitements to cupidity were so great, that his efforts to suppress them availed but little; and he died with the mortifying prospect of an increasing depravation of morals in his country.

The most dire effect of this national perversion was a bloodiness of temper that occasionally converted men into savages, and by degrees became so habitual, that the Spaniards were more dreaded for their cruelty than any other European nation. Nor was it confined to remote regions, where only the ignorant and uncivilized multitudes were witnesses and sufferers: it soon made its way to the Spanish dominions in Europe; which after experiencing the severities of an oppressive government, were finally doomed to every horror that a sanguinary character, supported by irresistible power, is able to inflict. The bare mention of such a monster as the Duke of Alva is sufficient.

This propensity to shed blood, had, in fact, originated in their own country, where the inhuman spirit which first established the inquisition, had spread its contagious influence over all people in power. The terrors of that merciless tribunal kept the whole land in awe. Its barbarous jurisdiction involved all degrees of society, without distinction of age or sex: women in their teens fell a sacrifice to its fury. No eminence of merit was admitted as any protection: the favourites of kings, and even kings themselves, were subject to its authority. One of their Philips having expressed his commiseration for some of the unhappy victims that he saw leading to execution, was prevailed upon to suffer some of his blood to be drawn and thrown into the flames by the executioner, in compliance with the desire of some of his deluded subjects, who thought him bound to make this public atonement, as a proof of his repentance for seeming to disapprove of the inquisitorial proceedings.

You cannot fail upon this occasion to be struck with horror at the execrable sentiments which religion, ill understood, is liable to inspire. You will shudder to reflect what an

abhorrence of our fellow creatures a difference of opinion concerning the dispensations of Heaven, and the manner of worshipping the Deity, can create among men willing to agree in every other respect, and to terminate amicably the most outrageous disputes, but averse to drop their feuds and animosities about matters inexplorable in their nature, and of no importance in human affairs. How deplorable, that so fatal a repugnance should subsist with more obstinacy betwixt public bodies than private individuals! Happily for mankind such disputes commonly render these ridiculous. How desirable for the common interest that they should no less expose the others to derision.

Nothing, it should seem, ought to be more clearly and unanimously understood, than that zeal is reconcileable with reason and equity in the encouragement or the suppression of those things only that are evidently, and beyond the power of argument conducive to the visible good or evil of society: but you will hardly fail to remark, that it is precisely the most uncertain and disputable points that men are apt to insist upon as least

pected nothing but savageness and barbarity.

It may be added, that prejudices of this description against protestants have been carried to so stupid an excess, that even such of their own communion as have unluckily borne a name similar to that of any person of celebrity among the reformed, have sometimes found it an obstacle to their advancement in life.

In addition to the absurd prepossessions entertained against every christian sect but the Roman, the most preposterous practices infect the modes of worship in Spain; such, indeed, as disfigure religion, and render it an object of ridicule. In the height of their spiritual exultations, while the host is carried about in triumphant solemnity, it is often followed by people in masquerade, who testify their joy by leaping, dancing, and playing upon castaniettos all the way, and who sometimes continue these demonstrations of mirth in the very churches.

In the catholic provinces of the low coun-

tries, as they were stiled until they were absorbed in the French revolution, many vestiges remain of this superstitious delirium, introduced apparently during their long subjection to Spain. The religious processions in many places were intermixed with such antic exhibitions, that a spectator was at a loss to determine with what intent they were displayed, whether to excite devotion or laughter, whether to honour heaven or to divert the populace. In most or all the great towns of Flanders and Brabant, there were annual festivals, usually kept in the summer season, for the greater conveniency of a general resort from all parts of the district. On the day appointed, the different companies of tradesmen and artificers assembled, and began the march somewhat in the manner of our lord mayor's show. They were followed by the secular and regular clergy belonging to the place: these formed an escort to the numerous shrines brought forth on these occasions, as all relics of any note claimed a share in this solemnity. After these, a complete system of heathen mythology was represented by persons accoutred in the various forms and dresses appropriated to each deity. Next

were displayed a series of allegorical devices, such as the wheel of fortune, the virtues and vices, the passions and propensities of mankind. The rear was closed by a set of immense wicker giants, to whom ours at Guildhall are mere dwarfs. These extravagancies, of which this description is by no means exaggerated, afforded the highest enjoyment to the prodigious crowds which they attracted from all quarters. After testifying the utmost respect for the images and enshrined remains of those saints, whose patronage and protection of their city and territory these festivals were partly instituted to commemorate, they made an easy and quick transition to that intemperate and vulgar mirth which the subsequent scenes of oddities and low buffoonery could not fail to occasion.

SECTION II.

State of the liberal Arts and of Literature in Spain during the Periods of its Grandeur—Influence of its Power and Greatness over the European World—Ferdinand surnamed the Catholic—His Character—Contrasted with those of Lewis the Eleventh of France, and of Henry the Seventh of England, his Cotemporaries—Spain, under Charles the Fifth, and Philip the Second—Resemblance of the latter to Lewis the Fourteenth of France—Pride and Overbearingness of the Spanish and French Nations under those two Princes.

SECTION II.

AMIDST the splendour and opulence of the Spanish court, and the profusion of the grandees in their expences, during the reigns of Charles the Fifth and Philip the Second, few artists of capital eminence arose among the natives of Spain. Their best architects, statuaries, and painters, came from Italy, which still continued the brightest seminary of all the fine arts. The Spaniards, like the ancient Romans, were willing enough to encourage and patronise them, but left their cultivation to others; judging it more eligible to apply themselves to war and politics, and to the improvement of their fortunes by lucrative voyages to their American settlements, or beneficial employments in the numerous departments of their extensive dominions. One would have thought they had in view those celebrated lines of Virgil, wherein he seems indirectly to recommend the neglect of such arts to his countrymen, and advises them to pursue those only of conquest and empire.

Their practice at least tended to a strict observance of the poet's advice.

The low countries, the richest portion of their monarchy, and their Italian provinces, both abounded in the most illustrious professors of all those branches; but the emulation they excited in the natives of Spain, was not proportioned to the great models continually exhibited before them: and yet they were such professed admirers of all those arts, that even in the decline of the monarchy, and at a juncture when their finances could ill afford so unnecessary an expence, the court of Spain purchased that inestimable collection of pictures, statues, and other prime productions of genius, which our unfortunate Charles the First had, in the days of his power and prosperity, procured at so great a cost from all parts of Europe; and which, after his tragical end, were sold by order of parliament.

In order to account for this striking apathy in the Spaniards, who certainly were not deficient in taste and in capacity to shine in the cultivation of the fine arts, it should be recollected, that like the Romans, in the times of

their degeneracy from the virtues of their forefathers, and when they were become noted for peculation and corruptions of every kind, the Spaniards after that model became rapacious plunderers of the countries under their subjection. Many of their provincial governors were close imitators of a Verres. It was not surprising, therefore, they should be little solicitous for the establishment and culture of the arts at home, when, without being indebted to the talents of their own countrymen, they could, by means of the riches they extorted from the people and places under their controul, obtain whatever money can command.

We ought nevertheless to except from the severity of these strictures a few natives of Spain, who, at the period alluded to, eminently distinguished themselves as painters of the first class. The performances in this line of Velasques, and of Murillo, especially the latter, are held in the highest esteem by the ablest connoisseurs, and testify that with a due share of application and encouragement, the Spanish genius is not inferior to that of others, and might, with a little degree

of cultivation, have produced similar proofs of excellence.

It is very remarkable, however, that their negligence in these matters did not affect their intellectual pursuits, and that they abounded with men of the highest merit in the republic of letters. The great Ximenes had made such ample provision for this department, that it continued to flourish while others were declining. Many were the celebrated names that preserved literature, wit, and learning, in Spain, on the most respectable footing.

It was through the favourable opinion entertained of them in those respects, as well as through the ascendancy which is the natural consequence of extensive empire, together with the necessity of intercourse with a people who ruled over so many countries, that their language was widely diffused, and reputed a fashionable accomplishment in genteel life. Their customs and manners too were equally adopted, and their very dress became the standard of imitation, even among their enemies, as instanced in the court of Queen Elizabeth; a woman, it may be ob-

served, who notwithstanding her greatness of mind, and the multiplicity of important business that incessantly kept her abilities on the stretch, had yet so much of her sex in the article of apparel, that according to report, much more than a thousand suits of dress were found in her wardrobe at her decease—a sumptuousness that ill agreed with her extreme parsimony in other matters.

She was not singular in her taste; the prevalence of Spanish fashions influenced all Europe in a degree, equal at least, if not superior, to that infatuation which has brought French modes into such vogue. So closely were the Spaniards copied, that the very circumstance of nocturnal courtship, agreeable enough to their warm climate, found its way to the northern countries; where the custom of serenading their mistresses became frequent among lovers: an absurdity which, from Milton's satirical mention of it, subsisted probably to his time.

It was during the reign of Ferdinand, surnamed the Catholic, that Spain began to assume the superiority over the other kingdoms

of Europe. His successes in war, and principally the conquest of Grenada, the last that was subdued of the Moorish kingdoms in Spain, and his other extensive acquisitions of territory, rendered him the greatest monarch in christendom. As he was rather of a morose temper, and averse to the intrusion of company upon his thoughtful and plodding disposition, he devised those formalities and regulations for the government of his household, which, under the pretence and appearance of preserving the dignity of the sovereign, contributed to cast a gloom on his court. In order to keep his subjects at a distance, and to strike them with awe, he increased the number of his domestic retainers, and of the attendants on his person. As the greatness of his power rendered him a model to other princes, he was copied in this instance by several; particularly by our Henry the Seventh in his institution of the Yeomen of the Guard, and by Lewis the Eleventh of France in a similar arrangement. These three monarchs, it may be noticed, bore a strong resemblance to each other: equally suspicious and full of dissimulation, equally avaricious and expert in extorting money.

from their subjects through various pretexts, and equally mistrusted by their allies as well as their foes, and odious even to their own people; who, notwithstanding their acknowledged abilities, had little of attachment or respect for their persons.

He was succeeded by his grandson Charles, who uniting to the throne of Spain the imperial crown of Germany, and the hereditary dominions of the house of Austria, became the most formidable prince in christendom: the richest, and nearly the largest half of which was the patrimony of his family, and became, in his hands, the terror of all the rest of Europe.

This celebrated prince had a mind and a capacity equal to the great and continual scenes of activity that employed his whole life. The character of the Spaniards in his time, was that of a victorious and triumphant people; and the weight of the Spanish monarchy in the political scale of Europe was such, that both France and England were fain to forget their ancient animosities, and

often to join in the firmest union to resist the torrent of his successes.

The personal disposition of Charles differed widely from that of Ferdinand, and he knew perfectly how to reconcile majesty with mildness and affability. The system of stateliness and reserve affected by his predecessor did not accord with his temper, and during his reign an ease and freedom of behaviour was uppermost in his court. It contained too many warriors, and was too much in motion, from his perpetual travels in his far extended dominions, to indulge in habits of ease and indolence. He was himself averse to those tardy and indecisive proceedings, only found under the roof of those princes whose lives are spent at a distance from the field of business; and whose schemes are the fruit of inactive speculation.

But as he did not resemble his predecessor, neither did his successor resemble him: Philip, his son, inherited the genuine spirit of Ferdinand, and resumed his dark and intricate politics. Frankness and decision were laid aside

for finesse and ambiguity: his favourite ministers were those who excelled in craft and subtlety, and, like him, were averse to open and explicit methods of acting. The consequences were such as his father had foreseen and predicted: incertitude and duplicity entered into all transactions; candour and freedom of intercourse and communication were banished from court; and that knowledge, on which only good government is erected, that of the inclinations and interests of subjects, was treated with slight and inattention; as if the dispositions and desires of a whole people had no right to a competition with the will and caprice of the sovereign. Hence followed measures at home inconsistent with equity, and the prosecution of a system abroad founded upon the most imprudent ambition: it precipitated the Spanish monarchy into premature ruin, and it proved the rock upon which Philip split, and which his successors never strove to avoid; thinking it unbecoming them to adopt maxims different from his, who, unhappily for his country, was esteemed a consummate politician. But these maxims were evidently inimical to the peace and welfare of christendom; they consisted in em-

broiling every state, and ruling his own despotically. He filled the European courts with his emissaries, by whose machinations the seeds of division were sown every where; and his own dominions he treated with haughtiness and ferocity: violating their liberties without remorse or hesitation; annulling those laws and immunities that stood in the way of oppression; and using with cruelty whoever durst oppose his encroachments. Acting, in short, without either justice or humanity, setting conscience and reputation at defiance, and amply justifying the idea of his character, so completely and forcibly expressed in that celebrated picture of tyranny in the State's Assembly Room at the Hague; where he was represented trampling on the rights and privileges of mankind, and brandishing the sword of persecution and barbarity.

Charles the Fifth, though, like most princes, impatient of resistance and contradiction, had set him far other precedents: he seldom failed to consult the inclinations, and even the humour of his people; and respected those popular franchises that were too firmly established to be infringed, without giving um-

brage and dissatisfaction. Hence, though involved in unceasing wars, and of course ever in want of money, he was so judicious and circumspect in the exaction of pecuniary supplies, that he preserved the attachment of most of his subjects to the last. In one instance, that of his conduct to the citizens of Ghent, he deviated from the equity he had laid down as the rule of his government; and had recourse to compulsion and unjustifiable rigour. Of this, however, he manifested a due repentance, and studied, by a return of lenity, to efface the resentment.

The multiplicity of disasters occasioned through the evil government of Philip, did not prevent adulation from qualifying him with the appellation of wise; much in the same strain of flattery that Lewis the Fourteenth was stiled the great. So far was Philip from meriting such an epithet, that to his maladministration may be fairly ascribed the ruin of the Spanish monarchy. With much more truth and propriety did his enemies call him the demon of the South.

One may notice on this occasion that there

was a striking similitude, in some material instances, between these two princes: if Lewis was a better man he was almost as bad a king. Their political features exhibit a fatal likeness in every essential part of the comparison; both made their ambition the sole standard of their conduct, and carried their pretensions as far as they thought their arms would make them good. Thus the one seized Flanders and the Franche Comte, and the other made himself master of Portugal, to none of which countries either had the least right. Lewis, instigated by a spirit of bigotry, persecuted his protestant subjects, and forced them to take refuge among his enemies, and strengthen them by the immense wealth and accession of industry they carried away with them. Philip had set him the example: infuriated by the evil genius of superstition, he pursued with fire and sword all such among his subjects whose opinions he deemed heretical, and, through the terror of his barbarities, compelled multitudes of the most valuable of them to seek shelter in the neighbouring nations, and to increase their numbers, riches, and ingenuity, in manufactures and trade. Lewis, by his unwarrant-

able claims and haughtiness of conduct, excited a confederacy that overturned his grandeur, reduced him to an abject situation, and his realm to a deplorable condition. Philip had trod in the same path, and through his iniquitous politics, raised up alliances against him, and a spirit of opposition from every quarter, which he strove in vain to suppress. His endless enterprises against others, recoiled upon himself; they exhausted his treasures, ruined his fleets and armies, lost him those provinces that were the noblest portion of his inheritance, and finally left the Spanish monarchy in a state of disorder and debility from which it never recovered. Faithless in their public proceedings, they had nothing of that noble pride which scorns to take unworthy advantages of a foe. Force or fraud was the ruling maxim in their transactions: hence their insidious dealings, and their treacherous efforts to create divisions among those whom they feared while united. Thus Lewis, by pretending a desire to maintain the lawful authority of our Charles the Second, who had basely submitted to become his pensioner, sought to revive those scenes of discord which the flagitious policy of Richelieu had so fa-

tally promoted. Philip, in a like strain of politics, by espousing the cause of the league framed against their king, Henry the Third of France, by his rebellious subjects, contributed to fill that country with calamities. To complete the likeness, they were governed, on various occasions of the highest importance, by the suggestions and authority of priests; and both died inglorious, after a long reign spent in disturbing the tranquillity of christendom, by their bigotry or their ambition.

The death of Philip, if reports not inconsistent with his character may be credited, was attended with circumstances peculiarly superstitious and absurd. Unable to stifle the remorse he felt on a review of his life, and while his conscience was brooding over the recollection of his guilt, he bethought himself of an expedient to set his mind at ease, such as could enter only into the conception of an understanding wholly perverted by religious infatuation. A legal writing was drawn, and formally authenticated by a lawyer, wherein the king's confessor agreed to insure his salvation upon condition of his punctual performance of whatever should be enjoined him

by way of penance for his past misdeeds; the confessor consenting to become answerable for any flaws or deficiencies in the atonement he was thus authorised to prescribe.

The latter moments of Lewis were more worthy of a man, and of a sovereign sensible of his errors, and striving to expiate them by his repentance. But he had suffered himself, during the last year of his reign, to be so grossly deluded by that restless enthusiast Le Tellier, the Jesuit, and others of the like stamp, as to throw his whole kingdom into a violent fermentation on account of those obstruse points in religion, concerning which he was so imprudently solicitous to establish an uniformity of opinion.

The history of those two princes affords important lessons to succeeding ones. They remain signal examples that it neither is the wealth nor the power of a state, on which it is to depend for prosperity, so much as upon management and moderation. These two main supports they both wanted; and though no sovereigns ever expended larger sums, nor could boast of better disciplined troops, nor

abler generals, yet none ever did less with so many advantages. The successes they obtained were not owing to the superiority of their prudence or resolution. Philip, in particular, had little to boast of personal valour. It is recorded of him, that during the battle of St. Quintin, won chiefly through the bravery of the auxiliaries sent him from England, by his consort Queen Mary, he betrayed the most ridiculous apprehensions; and while the success of the day was uncertain, and the French army maintained a vigorous conflict, he lay prostrate before an altar in a neighbouring church, attended by some priests and friars.

An essential point of resemblance, was their profusion amidst the distresses occasioned by their extortions of money, and the inexorable requisitions of every kind, that reduced their respective kingdoms to a state of unprecedented misery. But after lavishing the blood and treasure of their people, the remorse, if they felt any for their iniquitous proceedings, was lost and rendered unavailing by the perniciousness of their example: hereby they bequeathed to their suc-

cessors a spirit of ambition and of tyranny that entered into all their councils, and perverted the talents of their ablest ministers. Dazzled with the accidental and transitory splendour of some parts of those two reigns, and fired with the presumption of rectifying the mistakes of their predecessors in office, those who were placed at the helm rashly persevered, in Spain particularly, to labour at those plans of aggrandizement and of reduction of all opponents, that had already proved impracticable. Such attempts in a country already impoverished, and hastening to ruin, completed the miseries of the public. In the mean time, as if the calamities resulting from the perpetual failure of enterprizes abroad, were not a sufficient warning to beware of dangerous measures at home, the religious phrenzy that presided in the Spanish councils, determined to resume those equally barbarous and impolitic pursuits, that had a century before deprived the kingdom of such multitudes of its most useful subjects. The remains of the industrious Moors, whose numbers were immense and peopled whole provinces, and whose laborious disposition chiefly supported a vast proportion of the national

agriculture, were, in an evil hour for Spain, after suffering the extremes of oppression and plunder, sentenced at last to universal expulsion.

The despotism and bigotry exercised under Lewis, were in like manner copied by the succeeding rulers of France. The commercial and trading classes were used with a severity which all the remonstrances of the French parliaments could not mitigate: those very parliaments for the honest freedom they took in laying before government the impropriety of its measures, were punished as guilty of disaffection and disloyalty, and condemned to exile or imprisonment.

A feature in the character of those two princes, not to be forgotten upon account of the consequences it produced, was the arrogance which they indiscriminately assumed in their transactions with other states and princes: it banished confidence and rouzed indignation. But a worse effect was that in imitation of their sovereigns; the same pride and haughtiness tainted the mind, and infected the behaviour of those subjects who

acted by their commission. The superciliousness and petulance of their deportment became unsufferable, and greatly contributed to render their masters odious. Complaints of this nature were loud in all parts of Europe against the Spaniards and the French. By manifesting upon all occasions an overbearing confidence that the dignity of their court and nation transcended all pretences to comparison, they at length excited an envious and hostile emulation that effectually convinced them how dangerous it is to make a parade of superiority.

Goaded by their repeated insults, the ministers of other powers studiously sought opportunities to mortify them. Thus while the Spanish armada was impending over England, and had filled the Spaniards with insolence, an English deputy at a congress where they pretended to be desirous of peace, resolutely answered them with those words which Cromwell many years after took for his motto, "*Pax quæritur bello*," "Peace must be procured by war." In the same manner when Lewis, intoxicated with flattery, had taken the sun for his device, as a French ambassa-

dor was expatiating on his master's greatness and comparing it with the universal influence of that luminary, a foreign minister calmly advised him to add the word Phaeton as a countermotto. Such replies were frequently necessary to stop the torrent of imperiousness that characterised the Spaniards and the French during that period of their transient splendour.

SECTION III.

Decline of the Spanish Monarchy—Its fallen Situation at the Conclusion of the Century before the last.

SECTION III.

After the diminution of the vast power of Spain during the three reigns of Ferdinand, Charles, and Philip, the ambitious spirit of that monarchy still remained. Unable to display its former strength, it was now reduced to have recourse to intrigues in addition to force; but they produced more disgrace than success; and proved a woeful degeneracy of the Spanish character. Some of their most famous ministers became noted for their iniquitous projects, and for employing the vilest instruments to execute their flagitious purposes.

A signal proof of this criminal disposition, was the ignominious plot contrived against the republic of Venice, by three of the most celebrated and favourite statesmen in the service of the Spanish court during the reign of Philip the Third, a prince often mentioned in the Spanish history as a model of virtue and piety; but in what they could consist is hard

to tell, on a supposition that he was privy to this inhuman and horrible conspiracy. He certainly must have stifled every feeling of nature, and every sentiment of religion, before he could give his assent to such a scene of villany. The members of this triumvirate, the name given it at the time, had projected no less than the total destruction of that noble city and state, and the merciless extermination of its inhabitants. The discovery of this execrable design, and its prevention were owing to a fortunate casualty. But the long continued machinations that were used to insure its execution, astonished all Europe; and filled every man with indignation at the government that could abet such designs, and at the country that had produced men capable of perpetrating them.

When Philip the Fourth, son to the preceding, ascended the throne, he found the affairs of the Spanish monarchy in a very unpromising situation, from the temerity and want of moderation that still attended those who administered them. The high opinion once entertained of the prowess and superiority in arms of the Spaniards, had long

vanished; and the insidious methods of proceeding of which they had been guilty, had lowered them in the estimation of all men who retained any persuasion that true policy consisted in the practice of integrity in all national transactions, as much as in private concerns.

Philip was soon involved, through the ambitious measures of his ministers, and the deficiency of means to support them, in a multitude of difficulties, from which the enfeebled condition of the kingdom rendered him unable to extricate it. He neither wanted courage nor capacity; but he lived at a time when there seemed a universal determination in the powers of Europe, to humble Spain for ever. The resources for its defence against so many enemies, were continually decreasing, through bad management at home. This was the principal cause of the disastrous state to which it was now reduced. For though much fallen from the vigour with which they were wont to pursue their foreign enterprises, the Spaniards still retained a remnant of their former spirit, however shaken and diminished by misfortunes. These were occasioned through

adverse accidents and domestic errors, more than any apparent defect of their ancient valour.

It will appear, on a dispassionate review of events, that with all their faults, and the many injurious imputations cast upon them, the Spaniards, until the battle of Rocroy, the loss of which they never recovered, continued indisputably the most conspicuous and formidable people in Europe; which evidently looked upon them in that light, by its incessant coalitions against them. Their firmness and constancy in not desponding under the burthen of universal enmity, their steady perseverance in maintaining their ground in every spot of their dominions, however distant from relief, their unyielding resolution in supporting their claims, and carrying on a war of fourscore years against the combinations formed on every quarter in aid of their revolted provinces, which had, during the whole contest, been vigorously assisted by the principal European powers; their conquests in America, their reduction of the kingdom of Portugal, and above all the terror they impressed upon their foes, the most brave and potent of whom held them in per-

petual dread, the superiority of character they assumed and preserved in the midst of so many difficulties, incessantly multiplying upon them, and to contend with which they never relaxed in straining every nerve of exertion, all these are facts that render the Spaniards of those times a people truly great and memorable.

In addition to this strong and resolute frame of mind, their knowledge and skill in military and in naval affairs, were, during a long space, superior to those of all other nations; whose instructors they were in those departments ultimately at their own cost. The fitting out of the famous armada against England, was the noblest effort of the kind ever known till then in modern ages; even the enterprise itself discovered no common courage and daringness. Sir Francis Vere, an able judge in these matters, commends highly, in his memoirs, their excellence and expertness in framing naval regulations. The great Prince Maurice, commander of the Dutch armies, and Henry the Fourth of France, no less a general than king, spoke with equal praise of their military discipline,

acknowledging them their tutors in the art of war. The annals of those times abound with passages recording their abilities and bravery. Of the first, let the sieges of Ostend and Antwerp bear witness; the accounts remaining of which, even now that the science of war has received such additional improvements, are, by the ablest connoisseurs, still read with admiration. Of the last, let their intrepid and justly famous passage of the Scheldt into Zealand, serve as an instance; an action never surpassed in ancient or in modern story.

As all nations have at different periods been prompted by peculiar motives of acting, an enthusiastic ardour for glory was the ruling passion of the Spaniards in those days. This buoyed them up in the midst of the impediments arising from a variety of causes tending to depress their exertions. The truth was, that notwithstanding the ill-management of their ministers in the internal departments of government, yet as the other European states, with few exceptions, were almost as faulty in this particular, they still found means to make head, and to remain formid-

able to enemies who did not act on a more judicious plan than themselves.

The situation of Europe was in divers material instances favourable to Spain at that era. France, its nearest and most dangerous foe, was plunged in civil broils of the most inveterate and sanguinary nature. It had little to apprehend from Germany, where the ties of consanguinity secured it an interest in the imperial family. The naval power of England was in its infancy; so was that of Holland. The best parts of Italy, and of the low countries, and all Portugal with its many dependencies, was their own, besides their immense possessions in America. From all these they drew sufficient funds to encounter enemies who had no such resources, and who rather acted on the defensive: for excepting the expedition of the English to Cadiz under Elizabeth, we find no other of any note against the Spaniards; while they, on the other hand, were busy in attacking the French, English, and Dutch, in their own countries, and keeping them in continual alarms. It was not till towards the middle of Philip the Fourth's reign, that Spain, al-

ready considerably weakened by the mismanagement of its two preceding monarchs, began to totter on all sides. Portugal threw off the yoke, and successfully maintained its independence. Catalonia, the most considerable of its provinces, revolted in favour of France. In addition to these domestic losses, England and Holland were becoming masters of the seas, and, of course, its most dangerous enemies. In conjunction with France, they gave Spain so many signal blows, and broke its strength so effectually, that the peace of the Pyrenees was the only expedient left at last to save that kingdom from utter destruction.

Such was the fate of a realm that might with prudence have continued at the head of Europe. We see nothing henceforward of Spain, for a number of years, but the shadow of a mighty name; a people of scarce any weight in the political scale of Europe; and, what is very remarkable, though retaining territorial dominions superior in extent to those of any European state, unable to face any of those powers singly, against the collected force of which they had heretofore been

an equal match; nay, even glad to accept, and obliged to court the assistance of those whom they had formerly oppressed or threatened to subdue. Nothing in history exceeds the debility and wretchedness that befell Spain under Charles the Second, son and successor to the last Philip. Such and so many were the miseries which afflicted that unhappy country, that its very monarch partook of the common distress, and was more than once reduced to want the means of supporting the appearance necessary to the dignity of his royal station. At the conclusion of the century before the last, Spain was enervated to such a degree, that foreign powers used no ceremony in dividing the monarchy into portions, as freebooters do a prize, without its consent, or even its previous knowledge of the different partitions they were making of its disjointed provinces.

SECTION IV.

Administration of public Affairs in Spain since the Accession of the House of Bourbon—Parallel of the Spaniards and of the Turks in some Particulars—Negligence of the Spanish Peasants in the Cultivation of Land—General want of Accommodations in the Country—Averseness of all Classes to toil and fatigue—Indolence of the natives of Spain at this Day, contrasted with the former Industry of the Moors—the mixed Progeny of the ancient Inhabitants of Spain, and of the Goths in aftertimes, remarkably averse to labour—Spaniards excellent Soldiers till lately.

SECTION IV.

IMPORTANT alterations have taken place in Spain since the House of Bourbon has been seated on the throne. The genius and activity of some foreign statesmen endeavoured to restore life and vigour to the councils of the Spanish court, and to rouse the nation from the torpor it had so long experienced. But their efforts succeeded no farther than to excite a temporary spirit of action; which, being unsupported by that only solid foundation which is laid by a good government, and solely due to the surprising exertion of extraordinary abilities, quickly subsided, and gave way to the habitual indolence that seemed for years to have claimed a sort of prescription in all national concerns. And, as if it had been an innovation of a criminal nature to have attempted the introduction of a contrary system, the authors and encouragers of those active measures were discarded, and their original author, the famous Cardinal Alberoni, whose enmity to France

rendered his capacity the more dreaded, was precipitated from the helm, and banished the very kingdom, that he might prove no obstruction to things returning into their former channel; so intimately were the French convinced that whoever wishes well to Spain, will act indefatigably to preserve it from French influence.

In process of time, the ambitious disposition of the new royal family, dazzled by French promises, superseded the laudable pride and opposition with which it should have resisted the politics of France; and threw Spain entirely into the hands and implicit management of French ministers. This of course obliged the Spaniards, in compliance with their rulers, to emerge again from inactivity. But as the designs they were employed in executing, were calculated merely to serve the personal interest of their princes, and totally unconnected with the public utility of the kingdom, they involved it in difficulties that were the more justly complained of on that account. It was evident that Spain already debilitated to the extremest degree, was not in a condition to afford coun-

tenance to projects of this nature, and required a long course of tranquillity to retrieve itself. This representation, though strongly enforced by the voice of the public, was of no avail. Ambition had taken possession of the reigning family, and those ministers only could expect favour, who coincided with its views. Unhappily for Spain, they were foreigners who chiefly managed its affairs, and, like their masters, they felt little for a country that was not their own.

It is with grief one beholds a once illustrious people, after sacrificing themselves for their native sovereigns from erroneous motives of national glory, become the victims of a foreign race of princes, solicitous only to make them the mere tools of the ambitious schemes they were forming for the aggrandizement of their family, in countries for which their subjects could no ways be interested.

But though the former grandeur of the Spanish empire is irretrievably past, and no prospect existing of its renewal, it still continually dwells in the memory of the Spaniards, who recall it upon all occasions with a warmth

and satisfaction the more surprising, that it forms so mortifying a contrast to their now degraded situation.

Such recollections, however, seem deeply implanted in human nature. The subjects of another empire, not less fallen from its ancient lustre, resemble the Spaniards in this particular; these are the Turks, whose past glory is still the subject of their present boast. Both they and the people of Spain are vain enough to imagine that the world respects them as much as it did of old; the Turks especially think themselves as dreaded now as when their arms were spreading terror through nations at that time less trained and inured to war than themselves.

It may, on this occasion, be noticed that a resemblance subsists between them in other instances, as if the decline of states were naturally attended with similar circumstances every where: though curtailed in their limits, both are yet owners of immense tracts, and may truly be said to possess a great empire with little advantage to themselves, though to the prodigious emolument of others. The

Turks, in particular, are guilty of gross errors in their government: notwithstanding long experience must have convinced them that many of their institutions are, through the vicissitudes of time, become obsolete, and inconsistent with existing systems, yet a rooted addiction to old customs, and a sort of political superstition, restrains them from embracing new ones evidently preferable. Hence it is, that while continual improvements are made in the tactics of their European neighbours, the Turkish military remains much on the same footing at this day, as it was at the taking of Constantinople three hundred and fifty years ago.

It is experimentally, with great difficulty, that long standing habits and notions are removed. Speaking of the conquest of Greece by the Romans, Montesquieu assigns, as the principal cause, the obstinate adherence of the Greeks to their ancient forms of military discipline. They could not, he says, conceive the necessity of abandoning those practices, through means of which they had done such great things. Thus the janissaries are infatuated with the notion of the superiority of

their scimitars over any other offensive arms; and that having been the weapon of principal use in war, during the triumphant periods of the Turkish empire, they cannot be prevailed on to relinquish it for the musket and bayonet, which some of their best officers have laboured to introduce in its stead: it is but lately they have in part succeeded; the generality still prefer the scimitar, and treats with contempt the alterations proposed.

The Spaniards, though not so bigoted to antiquated usages, still retain some strange prepossessions. As the idea of their former ascendancy over the rest of Europe is associated with that of their government and politics at that time, to the fatal errors of which the downfal of the monarchy was chiefly owing, they still harbour a predilection for the systems then uppermost in their ministries; and cannot be brought to suspect that the many statesmen, whose names have been handed down with so much celebrity, contributed, by their mistakes and unfortunate measures, to the decline of their country.

Among the kingdoms of Europe, there is

not confessedly one at present, of which the government has for years been weaker. Antecedently to the family compact, which was ostensibly framed for the common benefit of the various branches of the House of Bourbon, Spain, through the artful management of France, was become a secondary instrument for its many ambitious views; and the compact was made in order to silence the discontents of the Spanish nation, which complained of the tame subserviency of its court to that of France. But the disastrous effects produced by the French revolution, and the state of passive subjection to which Spain is now reduced, have completely annihilated all its importance, and it is now a mere province of the French empire.

The shame of this public debasement, apparently extends to all classes, and has nearly broken that high spirit for which the better orders of men were so renowned. But it seems to have fallen still more heavily on the lower; among whom less vigour and activity is now perceivable than ever. No addition was needed to their deficiencies, especially among the rustics, a race of mortals whose

aversion to labour, and any sort of exertion, is visible even in the extremes of indigence and misery.

In consequence of this inactive disposition, the aspect of the land is in many, if not in most parts of the kingdom, the picture of wretchedness. Considerable portions of some provinces consist of uncultivated deserts; which, to the shame of administration, might with a moderate share of industry, become the seats of plenty. Towns and villages are generally found at an inhospitable distance from each other, and the latter look more like the receptacle of mendicants than the habitations of tillers of the earth; a generation of men in this country who take small pains indeed in their vocation. Agriculture with them consists in little more than scratching the surface of the earth: were it not for its admirable fecundity, and the very slight cultivation it requires, famines must unavoidably prove the frequent lot of a people who think even this semblance of labour a heavy burthen; and are sometimes, through their neglect of it, in want of those supplies of grain from abroad, of which they might, with

some degree of care, afford a copious exportation.

From these, and other causes of a similar nature, Spain, you must readily perceive, is no country for travellers. Those conveniences and accommodations that invite the curious to visit other parts of Europe, are almost utterly unknown in this unfrequented region; where, as the sordid dwellings of individuals are but thinly scattered, one cannot expect to meet with that preparation of necessaries, which only populousness and industry can suppose: hence their inns are poverty itself, and afford nothing but house room.

You must not therefore rely upon many comforts in a country of which the inhabitants are so little acquainted with the methods of rendering a journey agreeable to themselves, much less of course to others. Whether travelling was in former days so disagreeable as at present, may be doubted, as the Moors were an active and industrious race, and peopled large tracts. It is to be regretted that Erasmus did not visit Spain; he would certainly have bestowed a colloquy

upon his journey, no less curious and entertaining than his account of the German inns, and their manner of treating strangers; a subject which, though he has handled it very facetiously, would probably have yielded to the much ampler fund of humour, which a tour in Spain might have afforded in his day. A French lady, however, has left a journal of her voyage to Madrid, performed in the latter part of the century before the last, and written with great wit and elegance. It will abundantly serve to convey a proper idea of the idle, indolent, and listless disposition of the natives; and may the more readily be depended on, that no material alterations in their manners have happened since her time, if we except the court and its dependants: these being for a length of time of foreign origin and inclinations, introduced an etiquette and modes of living somewhat differing from the former. But the influence of these changes has not been so generally felt as it would be in other countries, where the communication between the capital and provinces, and of these with each other, is attended with more speed and facility. In Spain, the embarrassments in the way of it are such in many

parts, that the grandees whose estates lie at a great distance from Madrid, seldom will take the trouble to visit them; and it often happens that the local knowledge of several among them, reaches to a very inconsiderable extent from that metropolis.

The introduction of French and Italian manners in the reign of Philip the Fifth, and his consort Elizabeth of Parma, infused a turn for rural festivities, which occasioned farther excursions into the country than had been usual; but this was out of the common track, and did not supersede the long established habits of partiality to those amusements only that centre in or near the capital. Few, indeed, are the inducements to what we call jaunting; places of pleasurable resort remote from town are unknown: the listlessness and indolence of the people of rank and fortune renders them averse to distant journies, even on the score of business, much more on that of mere pleasure; which has little attraction for them, unless near at hand, and procurable without fatigue.

But notwithstanding the discouragements

attending travellers in Spain, still it is a country worthy of inspection, and well deserving the fatigue and expense of a journey thither. To say nothing of the laudable motive of becoming acquainted with a people, who, with all their real failings, and imputed defects, possess many noble qualities, there are objects enough, whether of nature or of art, to excite the curiosity of judicious individuals: the people alone merit the attention of a reflecting mind, qualified by study and experience to examine and ascertain the character of nations.

It is highly to the credit of our countrymen that some of the best accounts of Spain have been published by persons among them fully competent to the task. It was indeed a desideratum long complained of, that while a variety of recent descriptions of other parts of Europe were met with, no tolerable one of Spain had been given to the public. Hence it had been inferred by many, that the reason for not making Spain a part of the grand tour, was not so much its lying too far southward, as that it did not afford sufficient motives to attract the notice, and contribute to

the gratification of foreigners. This objection has now been completely removed by our own travellers.

In the mean time, it cannot be denied that the old standing complaint of the supineness and indolence of the Spaniards still subsists in full force. The first proof of this that occurs to a stranger, is the indifference with which a Spanish innkeeper receives his guests, and the averseness to wait upon them; this, in many, if not most places, is carried to such an excess, that though provisions may be cheap, and easy to procure, a circumstance one would imagine he would improve to his advantage, yet so great is his laziness, that even immediate gain has not power to rouze him from sloth; and a traveller is not only left to provide his own sustenance, but often to dress it.

This apathy of the Spanish disposition has occasionally been made a subject of discussion. Some have conjectured, that this general propensity to inaction in the natives of Spain, was originally owing to their long and obstinate wars with the Moors; during which,

they say, little business could be attended to but that of fighting. They were so hard pressed, that nothing but the mountainous recesses they were compelled to take refuge in, could shelter them from the enemy. Hence they forgot all solicitude for the conveniences and comforts of life; and through long habit became at last contented with those bare necessaries that are procured with little trouble.

This method of accounting for the aversion to labour so usual in the Spaniards, is more plausible than well founded. The Moors were not always successful in every quarter; and, according to the chances of war, sometimes were the ruled, as well as at other times the ruling people, in the various petty kingdoms of Spain: both nations consequently must have lived together intermixed for the course of several ages. This naturally supposes an extinction of that ferocity which might have reciprocally subsisted in their primitive wars. These alternate conquests and subjections were not of course attended with barbarity, or much devastation, especially on the part of the Moors, who were the mildest of conquerors, and at that time the most civil-

ized people in Europe. The arts and sciences so flourished among them, that they became the preceptors of those western parts possessed by the descendants of the Goths, and of the other northern nations that destroyed the Roman empire. These, in the progress of their civilization, adopted their learning, and were highly benefited by imitating their industry and ingenuity. They were taught by the Moors, among many other branches of knowledge, those of arithmetic, astronomy, and medicine, and particularly that which is commonly, though improperly, stiled Gothic architecture—the most beautiful erections in Spain are of that description. The Europeans, in fact, during a long space of time, received their knowledge and improvements in the civil arts from the Moors, much in the same manner that the ancient Romans did theirs from the Greeks. These Moors, to do them justice, were inventive and laborious in the supremest degree: even at this day, those provinces in Spain that abound most in their posterity, are the best cultivated, and their inhabitants the least addicted to idleness of any in the kingdom. This, and the antecedent remarks, clearly demonstrate that it is

quisite, and active only in those scenes that may be transacted without a constant rotation of habitual assiduity. Hence it is they form excellent soldiers, a profession for which that turn of mind is best calculated, which can make a sudden transition from great leisure and inactivity to uncommon alertness and exertion.

Their military qualities may perhaps appear controvertible, when we advert to the several invasions and conquests of their country; yet it is certain that they were never subdued through want of courage, but from a defect of union and good order among themselves. Whenever government has been in able hands, and the spirit of the people has met with due encouragement, they have readily embraced opportunities of signalizing their aptitude for bold enterprises: the alacrity and resolution which they have displayed on such occasions, afford convincing proofs that it is not toil itself, so much as the particular modes of toiling, to which they are averse. This they have amply verified by the extraordinary fatigues and hardships they so perseveringly and cheerfully underwent in their numberless adventures in America.

A celebrated politician often expressed himself of this opinion; this was Cardinal Alberoni; who, by having held the post of prime minister in Spain, had acquired a competent insight into the disposition of the natives. He was used to say, that the Spaniards were excellent tools for a daring politician to work with, as their genius, however slow and tardy in pacific undertakings, was susceptible of the keenest ardour and activity in those public and national enterprises that were attended with brilliancy and eclat.

Expert and impartial judges in military matters have long been agreed that in those departments of war where a calm and patient resolution is the principal requisite, the Spaniards cannot be excelled; their steady coolness in danger fitting them admirably for defence. Nor can it be denied that upon numerous occasions, wherein the liveliest exercise of valour was necessary, they have proved that the utmost vivacity in such transactions is not incompatible with an indolent and inactive character in the occurrences of civil life. Passages of this kind abound in the history of their long wars in the low countries.

Testimonies of their eminent merit as a brave and warlike people have been frequent among the most illustrious commanders. It was at the head of Spanish armies that two of the most renowned warriors in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Prince of Parma and the Marquis of Spinola, performed so many exploits. A general, to whose abilities in the field the family of Bourbon owed its preservation of the Spanish crown, the great Marshal Vendome, was wont to describe the Spaniards as men endowed with all the soldierly qualities of the European troops he had been acquainted with in the various scenes of his warfare: the sobriety, obedience, and docility of the Italians, the sedate firmness of the Germans, the fire and impetuosity of the French, and the cool intrepidity and resolution of the English; and who exceeded them all in their patience under the severest privations: such, he asserted, was their invariable character, while commanded by men in whose courage and capacity they confided.

From what causes, therefore, it will be said, has proceeded the downfal of those qualifi-

cations? The French, to whom they were not reputed inferior in bravery, have ever since the revolution in their country assumed a superiority over the Spaniards, still greater than that which they now exercise over so many others. The only way of accounting for this loss of their martial spirit, in the armies and in the people of Spain, is to recur to the long subsisting discontents of the nation, which had for a length of years had a variety of reasons to disapprove the conduct of their rulers. Administrations had without interruption arisen inimical to the public welfare of the kingdom, and devoted to the influence of France, which, by its intrigues, governed absolutely the Spanish court, and, in consequence, the realm itself. A general depression of the national spirit followed of course: the people saw themselves ruled by foreigners, and made the victims of foreign concerns. Patriotism vanished under such a government; men could feel no attachment to those who had sacrificed the honour and interest of their country to its enemies, and naturally became desponding and heartless when called upon to exert themselves for such masters.

SECTION V.

Thin Population of Spain comparatively to its Extent—Causes thereof—Overrun in some Parts with Thieves and Robbers—Infested every where with Mendicants—Idle Habits and Wretchedness of Multitudes—Grave Deportment of the Spaniards, and their Decorum in Manners and Conversation—Lofty Notions of their Country and Nation—Attachment to their Sovereigns—Dignified Conduct of the Spanish Nobles—Difference between the fashionable People in Spain, and in France—Spaniards less attached to the Bustle of Life—Remarks upon this Subject.

SECTION V.

One of the first observations a traveller in Spain cannot fail to make, is the thinness of its population comparatively to its extent. This, however, is the necessary consequence of the wretched system of politics prevailing in that country ever since the reign of Ferdinand of Arrogan. This ill-advised monarch expelled nearly a million of Jews and Moors, these latter the most industrious people in Spain. Instigated by the like degree of superstitious zeal and erroneous policy, Philip the Third, one of his successors, banished the like number of them. These were two irreparable blows to the prosperity of that country; to which, when we add the long and destructive wars that lasted near fourscore years against the revolted subjects of the Spanish crown, who were occasionally supported by all the powers in Europe, and consider at the same time the ill government at home, and the impolitic measures abroad, of the administrations which adopted and pursued them

successively during that whole period, our wonder ceases at the exhausted condition to which they brought that kingdom.

But a misfortune of much greater fatality attended Spain during this ruinous contest. The discovery of the American world had opened sources of treasure, which, from their unexpected immensity, appeared at first inexhaustible, and were in reality the means by which Spain maintained its ascendancy over Europe in the reigns of Charles the Fifth and Philip the Second; but at the close of this monarch's life, a striking vicissitude had taken place: the formidable power of Spain was no more; its navies were totally destroyed; England had wrested from it the empire of the sea; the Dutch had successfully resisted it at land, and were invading its possessions in the distant parts of the globe; which, from their enfeebled condition, the Spaniards were not able to protect. France, the most potent of its enemies was increasing in force, and threatening to become in time the final subverter of the Spanish grandeur.

Spain might nevertheless have stood its

ground; and though inadequate to the rash attempt of facing alone the combined efforts of Europe to reduce it within bounds, still might have remained a respectable monarchy. But a calamity that became gradually radical, had made its way into the vitals of the nation, and entirely perverted its character; this was an inordinate thirst after riches, that took possession of all people without exception, upon the amazing successes of the Spanish adventurers in the new hemisphere, and the incredible riches they had acquired. This operated universally as a signal to the inhabitants of Spain: the facility with which Mexico and Peru had been conquered, and the prodigious wealth which they had yielded to the conquerors, were temptations that could not be resisted. The demon of Avarice entered into the nation at large; America was the theatre on which all men panted to act a part; all other businesses and occupations became frivolous in the eyes of individuals, convinced that a voyage to that country would enrich them for ever. Hither, of course, repaired the most active and enterprising; domestic trade and industry were neglected and abandoned for those projects, which were up-

permost in men's minds for a long continuance of years, and almost expelled the inclination to embrace any profession that would keep them at home.

The consequence of this aversion to the ordinary callings and labours of civil life, was more fatal to the nation than all the losses occasioned by its unsuccessful wars, and the ruinous management of its foreign affairs. It struck at once to the source of all national prosperity, by introducing a disposition to inactivity and idleness, which were the necessary effects of a determination to accept of no employment and follow no occupation that did not lead to the immediate acquisition of wealth without professional toil.

Such a disposition soon peopled Spain with idlers and loungers of all denominations. The contagion of example was irresistible. Whatever might have been previously to this period the opinion of Europe respecting the natives of Spain, they became by degrees objects of general animadversion for their rooted addiction to idleness, and are justly stigmatized as the most lazy, and averse to a life

of industry and labour of all civilized nations.

This habitual repugnance to the occupations requisite for the comforts and enjoyments of society, is certainly a most enormous evil, being the radical cause of all those that originate from indigence, which is the fruitful parent of those calamities that lie heaviest upon civilized nature. In this light alone idleness is, in the strictest sense, the root of all the evils in social life.

Its consequences are more visible in Spain than in any other country in Europe: want and misery overspread the land, as an evident punishment upon the natives for their refusal to fulfil the first injunction laid upon mankind, that they should earn their subsistence by the sweat of their brow. A train of hardships and sorrows originates from this disobedience; hunger, and privations of every kind, together with the woeful results that unavoidably attend them.

The pressures of want on proud and haughty minds, usually produce deplorable

effects. As mendicity is a situation to which they cannot bear to submit, and as individuals of this cast abound in Spain, reduced through self neglect to a condition that forces them either to beg or steal, the latter of course becomes their choice: hence robberies formerly rendered the high roads in Spain the most insecure of any in Europe. The frequent clans of banditti that carried on a regular course of depredation, obliged people to travel in bodies, well armed and prepared for a rencounter.

In consequence of a somewhat better police, the roads are at present less dangerous; and except when the harvest fails, which, by a general diffusion of extreme want, renders the lower sort desperate, travelling is become much safer; especially in the northern parts, where, since the accession of the House of Bourbon, the greater intercourse between France and Spain has opened more communications. The number of thieves and disorderly vagrants is not, however, much lessened; and though they no longer infest the public so daringly as they did formerly, the sup-

pression of their boldness has sharpened their dexterity in clandestine villanies.

Such as abstain from levying contributions by force, and chuse to relieve their necessities by applying to the liberality of others, are, though not so dangerous, a greater nuisance in some respects than the former: they swarm every where, and no place, however sacred or respectable, is, if a public one, secluded from their intrusion; inns and churches particularly are full of them; and whether at their meals or devotions, persons are liable to their importunities every where, unless within their own doors.

Those individuals who have the luck to be placed by a narrow pittance just above the reach of hunger, seem by their whole conduct to think nourishment the only point to be provided for; and are as fond of loitering away their time as young spendthrifts, heirs to large estates. Thus, without any shame for the shabbiness of their apparel, and without any care for the article of habitation, they avail themselves of the clemency of their winter days, to bask in the sun; and

during the heat of summer, they sleep in the shade, and reserve their walk for the evening or night.

What renders such a mode of existing the more astonishing, it is not restricted to the ignorant and the illiterate; many who have received a decent education, and bear a reputable character in other respects, are equally tainted with this contagious and general apathy and neglect of those means of bettering their circumstances, that are so eagerly sought and so sedulously improved by the majority of people in more industrious nations.

No individuals prove more forcibly than the Spaniards, that we must not form our judgment of men merely from their conversation and deportment; in both these the character of the generality, from the high to the low, would appear unimpeachable; an air of gravity and deliberation reigns in their manner of discoursing; and their personal behaviour is full of circumspection and care not to give offence. In order to secure a civil treatment from others, they assume a reserve, and almost a stateliness, which effectually preclude

that unguarded familiarity whence disrespect and slight usually proceed. This decency of speech and demeanour accompanies them in most occurrences; and when they differ in opinion, or even when altercations arise, it is not apt readily to forsake them.

Hence they discuss the subjects brought before them with coolness, and forbearance of personalities aimed at those with whom they do not agree. This, the greatest bane of social intercourse, they are remarkably studious to avoid; in few instances, indeed, are they guilty of transgressing the bounds of moderation; it is chiefly when conversing about their country that they lose their temper; they speak of its power and importance with as much warmth and arrogance of language, as if subsisting in its former splendour; and they think no less highly of their sovereign, though fallen so low in the scale of European potentates.

The reverence and affection of the Spaniards for their monarchs, has always been conspicuous; they were noted for the maxim, that it is wiser to bear with the failings of

kings than to punish them; a maxim that contains more truth than needs explanation. Whatever zeal the French might boast for their kings before the revolution, which has unhinged all their former ideas, they had not more real attachment for them than the Spaniards; with this difference, that in Spain it was a judicious respect founded on the necessity of subordination, and on the fatal consequences of resisting the supreme power, but in the last extremities of its abuse. Had the French adopted this rule, they would not have waded through seas of blood to establish a tyranny more intolerable than any they have ever yet experienced; but their levity and impetuous disposition admitted of no medium, and they rushed through anarchy to arrive at despotism: while they had a king their devotion to him was base and blind, and often so ridiculous, that persons have been known to kiss the king's sign manual with as much rapture as a lover would a letter sent him by his mistress. Their loyalty was the impulse of passion; the Spaniards were good subjects from motives of reason, the French from partial warmth for their prince, whose actions indiscriminately they seldom failed

to applaud. There never was an instance of meaner adulation than when Lewis the Fourteenth, at the age of seventeen, entered the parliament house at Paris, booted and spurred, with a horsewhip in his hand, and put an end to its session, much in the same manner that Cromwell, about the same time, dissolved the parliament of England. The bloom of his youth, the handsomeness of his person, and the air of authority he assumed on this occasion, were more attended to, and won him more hearts and favourers among an infatuated people, than the tyrannical exercise of his power excited murmur and indignation among the thinking few who durst dissent from the unreflecting and the spiritless multitude.

Notwithstanding the willingness of their obedience, the Spaniards have commonly firmness enough to disapprove of their sovereign's conduct, when they judge it inconsistent with his duty. This is the more esteemable in them, that they live in far greater subjection to the court than the French did, whose parliaments retained to the last the privilege of representing grievances to the

throne. In Spain, no settled medium of respectable communication remains betwixt the nation and its head, whose knowledge of the discontents that may arise in the political body, can only be conveyed to him by particular members, acting in a private capacity; their patriotism having no formal warrant for its exertion, dares, for that reason, seldom go further than imperfect insinuations, which have weight, or meet with disregard, as their authors may happen to be either in or out of favour with their royal master.

The fortitude requisite on such occasions in a courtier, who has much to risk for the freedom he ventures to take, proceeds from a dignity of sentiments that has long been a characteristic in the Spanish grandees; they little resemble the French courtiers in their unlimited flattery; and in their deference for majesty still preserve a due respect for themselves. Those who are prone to trace effects to their latent causes, have attributed this firmness of character in some personages at the court of Spain, to the privilege claimed and asserted by them of being covered in the

king's presence. Conformably to such a notion it has certainly been observed, that customs seemingly unimportant have sometimes been productive of material consequences: whencever it may proceed, Spanish men of rank are seldom guilty of that pusillanimous sacrifice of all considerations to court favour, for which the primest of the French nobles were so ignominiously remarkable.

Among the speculators on the difference of character between various nations, some are of opinion that there is less of ductility in the temper of the Spaniards, than in that of other people. However they may be willing to chime in awhile with the manners and humour of the times, they retain enough of that laudable misanthropy, that contempt for the prejudices of the wrong-headed vulgar, to wean themselves from mankind when they grow tired of the world: this they have sufficient sense to become when age and experience have convinced them of the emptiness of parade and ostentation, and how little of true and solid enjoyment exists in that rotation of gaieties so alluring to the inexpert.

Allowing this description to be just, it differs widely from that of a French man of fashion; the latter generally continues to the last true to the system upon which he set out in his youth; unwilling to acknowledge himself past the date of making his former figure in life, he still treads the stage, and obstinately perseveres in acting as it were the spectre of himself. Thus, in France, young and old reciprocally contribute to defeat the purposes of nature in each other; the young by applauding the absurd attempts of age to resemble them, and paying attention chiefly to those who can best divest themselves of their seniority; the old by a servile condescension to the capricious fancies and humours of the youthful classes, and a degrading cession of the right annexed to years, while dignified by propriety of behaviour, to controul the sallies of conceit and licentiousness in their juniors.

But that circumstance which most strongly denotes how much more rootedly the French are attached to life and its concomitances than the Spaniards, is, that when that period is arrived, which by the usual course of na-

ture, deprives men of the alertness and vigour of body and mind requisite for the dispatch of arduous and important business, it is not uncustomary for these to make a timely retreat from the affairs of the world, and to spend in calmness and tranquillity the evening of their days; a thing seldom known in France.

It is difficult to fix precisely the time when a man should withdraw from the active scenes of life; strength of constitution is in this matter more to be consulted than number of years: fifty seemed to Sir William Temple the term at which a cessation from the hurry of affairs ought to take place in a wise man's desires; without tying men down to this rule, they should not wait until age and infirmity compel them to retire. In Spain it sometimes happens, that in order to sanctify their plan of retirement, individuals enter into holy orders, or associate themselves to a religious fraternity, with the view of atoning, by the strictness of their latter lives, for the irregularity of their former days.

For this system of expiating, by devotion

and penance when old, the sinful courses of their youth, the Spaniards plead precedents of the highest order. Thus, it is recorded, the celebrated Duke of Lerma, after acting the part of prime minister many years, withdrew into solitude; adding to the dignity of cardinal, procured possibly for the security of his person, the duty of priesthood, of which he performed the functions in a most exemplary manner. His rival, and successor in the ministry, the no less famous Count Duke of Olivares as he was stiled, closed his last scenes in a like recess. Many other instances are cited in Spain, of persons in high stations abandoning the world from religious motives. Two of their kings may be named on this occasion: Charles the Fifth, who abdicated royalty, and lived an absolute recluse in a convent two years before his death; of latter days Philip the Fifth, in imitation of him, resigned the crown to his son Lewis; after whose demise he was with difficulty prevailed upon to resume it, so powerfully had both these monarchs imbibed, through long use and habit, the ideas and tempers of the nation into which they had been adopted.

People who are disposed to judge unfavourably of such transactions, have imputed these retreats from the world to dotage or bigotry, rather than to a reasonable desire to enjoy the peace and serenity of retirement after the bustle of life was over. But without absolving the Spaniards entirely from this charge, they who are so ready to undervalue them, would do well to reflect that in other countries, where the Romish religion is as prevalent as in Spain, and the people equally superstitious, it does not appear that they resemble the Spaniards in this particular; which by a parity of reasoning they ought to do, were such a conduct the mere effect of superstition; it proceeds apparently much more from a satiety of life, and a weariness of ambitious pursuits.

By consulting facts, we shall be led to think that ambition is a more durable passion in the individuals of some nations, especially the French, than in those of Spain; Richelieu, Mazarin, Colbert, and others, kept their posts to the last; and the venerable Fleury did not leave the helm in the extremity of age. What further authorizes one to pro-

nounce the Spaniards less ambitious than the French, is, that they are less active; as ambition and activity always go together, it is natural that such as have most of the latter, should also have more of the former.

SECTION VI.

Respect of the Spaniards for Strangers of Merit—The particular Esteem they entertain for the English—Honourable Behaviour to them of the Spanish Merchants—Their Confidence in the Integrity of the commercial People of this Country—High Opinion of the Courage and enterprising Spirit of the British Nation.

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SECTION VI.

The Spaniards, in addition to the preceding, allege other motives for claiming the esteem of foreigners; such are the willingness and candour with which they appreciate their personal worth, unbiassed by the consideration of their professing a different religion: when we reflect on the unhappy propensity of most men to hold each other in enmity on account of this difference, those who are free from this blemish certainly are thence the more deserving of praise.

It is generally allowed, that however violent the hatred of the ignorant and vulgar classes for protestants may still remain, the better sort of people in Spain, notwithstanding a fervent adherence to their religious tenets, never refuse to do impartial justice to the merit of those who happen to be of an opposite persuasion: as they are usually men of discernment, and circumspect in their judgment of others, so when they are convinced of

the worthiness of such persons, they are not backward in testifying their good opinion and readiness to serve them.

People of education and repute in Spain value themselves remarkably upon this character, which they insist has never been deviated from by men of sense and honour, even while religious inveteracy was at its height. This they exemplify by the treatment of the Earl of Bristol, the English ambassador at the court of Madrid, in the reign of our James the First. This nobleman was engaged in a negociation by no means acceptable to the Spanish nobility, that of a marriage of their infanta to our Charles the First, then Prince of Wales; but though his aversion to the Romish religion, and his zeal for the protestant were undoubted, yet as he had behaved with uprightness in the duties of his embassy, and displayed unimpeachable integrity upon all occurrences, so greatly was he regarded, that when recalled, and it was foreseen that the weakness of his master would sacrifice him to the malicious enmity of the Duke of Buckingham, the king nobly proffered him a rank and income in Spain equal to those he

possessed in England, together with the liberty of conscience.

Two other cases of a similar nature are also cited; that of Lord Clarendon, sent by Charles the Second, during his exile, to treat in his favour with the Spanish court. The firmness and probity of that minister obtained him the highest esteem and respect; and the most flattering asylum was offered to his acceptance, if ever he should, through an increase of his master's adversities, or his own misfortunes, be reduced to the necessity of claiming a refuge in their country. The other case was that of Lord Cottington, who chose in those distracted times to leave the scenes of confusion in England, and end his days in Spain, where he met with the most gracious reception.

It has often been observed, that if the Spaniards are partial to any nation, it is certainly to the English; the two points of indolence and religion excepted, a considerable degree of sympathy subsists in their respective tempers, and they both seem disposed to entertain a friendliness for each other. Political

views may probably influence them in our favour, as it is a common saying among them, that provided they are at peace with England, it matters not if they are at war with the rest of the world.

Their inclination to live in amity with the English has been evinced on several occasions: upon the eruption of some late wars, our countrymen experienced a readiness and punctuality from the Spanish merchants in the observance of their private agreements, which reflected the higher honour upon their national fidelity as individuals, that the most unfair and oppressive measures were adopted by the people in power. Such a conduct plainly shewed that whatever might be the politics of the court, the hearts of the nation were with us, and against the violation of that good understanding which the reciprocal interest of both countries required.

Many advantages were owing to the favourable opinion they entertained of our character; they placed so much confidence in our commercial agents in that illicit trade carried on with the Spanish settlements in

the West Indies, that while they scrupulously examined the cargoes purchased from other traders, before they would venture to pay for them, those of the English were taken upon trust without hesitation. Their privateers, during war, reposed the same faith in our seafaring men; whatever declarations were made, or engagements entered into by these, relative to the lading, or the ransom of the prize taken by the enemy, credit was given to them. These, it may be added, were weighty motives to preserve our veracity unstained, by never swerving from that rectitude of conduct of which their behaviour to us was so honourable a reward.

The Spaniards entertain no less an opinion of the courage and magnanimity of the British nation, than of its honour and probity. Of this not a more convincing elucidation can be given, than the solicitude of their governors and other military officers in their South American dominions, at the time of Admiral Anson's expedition to those parts: notwithstanding that they were informed of the disasters that had befallen our squadron, they still kept a watchful look out for its shattered

remains; well knowing, said they, that until the whole was gone to wreck, the English would persevere in their enterprize.

When at the summit of their power, they thought no less highly of this nation; Philip the Second, the most potent monarch of his age, though his ambition had raised him open and secret foes in all Europe, did not take his celebrated motto, "*Omnes contra nos, et nos contra omnes,*" "all against us, and we against all," until Queen Elizabeth appeared a determined and irreconcileable enemy; thereby intimating, that he looked upon the enmity of England as of more consequence than that of any of his numerous foes; an opinion which was amply justified by the many famous events of those times, that proved so fatal to the designs of that restless prince.

The British nation continues to this day on a footing of the highest respect with the judicious part of the Spanish nation: the late imprudences of its government, and the spiritless, if not treasonable conduct which has subjected Spain to the entire controul of France, are not viewed without indignation

by the people of Spain. Those who feel for the honour of their country, do not bear its present dependence upon that ancient enemy with any but apparent submission, and are secretly wishing for an opportunity to throw off so ignominious a thraldom. They are conscious at the same time that Great Britain is now the only power able and resolved to make a stand against the enormous strength of France; were this to receive an effectual check through the invincible courage with which this country has hitherto opposed it, there can hardly remain a doubt that every Spaniard who is not sold to France, or destitute of all spirit, sense, and feeling for the common interest, would cheerfully join the standard of insurrection against its tyranny, and gladly unite their exertions to those of Britain, as the best friend to their cause.

SECTION VII.

Generous Sentiments current among Numbers of the reputable Classes in Spain—Their beneficial Effects—Magnanimity of a Spanish Monarch contrasted with the pusillanimous Behaviour of a French Ministry on a particular Occurrence—Consequent Remarks.

SECTION VII.

THE reputable classes of society in Spain abound with individuals full of those high notions of honour, for which the times of chivalry were so renowned. It has for many years been fashionable, both among writers and readers, to cry them down as ridiculous and extravagant. Cervantes, it is asserted, wrote his *Don Quixote* in order to expose them to derision; but whether the morals of men have been improved by the censorious treatment they have met with from the wits of the two last centuries, is a disputable point among the serious and philosophical. They seem generally of opinion that great and lofty sentiments contribute much more to purity and strictness of virtue than a cool and frigid adherence to the mere dictates of reason, divested of those feelings and ideas which, though sometimes erroneous, tend however to generate in men a nobleness of disposition towards each other, and to expel narrowness

same time, the liberal sentiments of a people that prides itself upon such actions.

It is especially on public emergencies the Spaniards have displayed the generosity of their disposition. The most remarkable one was when they bestowed their protection upon our Charles the Second, at a time when both he and they were in very unprosperous circumstances; he a wandering exile, they pressed on all sides, and on the brink of ruin; yet even in this calamitous situation Philip the Fourth, influenced by his minister, Don Louis De Haro, a man of an undaunted mind, had the magnanimity to assist that prince. He did not espouse his cause in the manner he would have done, had the condition of his affairs permitted him to follow his inclinations; but he gave him avowedly his countenance in defiance of the frowns of England, of which the vengeance was well known to consist in more than empty menaces. This was doing a great deal, at a season when the least token of partiality in his favour was sufficient to irritate him who had the strength of this nation in his hands, and had shewn his determina-

tion to exert it against those who provoked his displeasure.

France, though at that time in flourishing circumstances, was too interested and narrow-spirited to act such a part; biassed by the most sordid motives, the French ministry treated Charles with an indifference and slight scandalous and criminal, when we consider his affinity to the blood of their kings, and that he was grandson to their Henry the Fourth; a behaviour not more to their dishonour, than his not resenting it on the change of his fortune, was advantageous to the politics of France.

The French, before the late revolution that destroyed their monarchy, had always made it a national boast that their country was the asylum of unfortunate princes; but it was notorious that the court of France did not patronise them from disinterested views, and had ever some favourite end to compass by its pretended generosity; of this their conduct to our James the Second, and those to whom he bequeathed his pretensions, is a sufficient illustration.

During the reign of Lewis the Thirteenth, the French had made it appear how little they were inclined to promote the domestic quiet of their neighbours, and to reconcile kings with their subjects. Instead of interposing their good offices to prevent or to compose the differences between Charles the First and his subjects, they employed their emissaries to sow divisions between them, and to excite and foment those feuds that filled this kingdom with blood, and brought that prince to the block; and yet he had married the sister of their king, and was in profound peace with the French, when their intrigues involved him in broils with his people.

True it is, that owing to the influence of those sanguinary ideas which infected the European world in Philip the Second's days, unwarrantable designs found admittance into that monarch's councils; but the dreadful politics of those bloody times seemed to authorise them. Through the perpetration of the many flagitious deeds, from which no part of Europe was exempt, the minds of men were familiarised with the most atrocious scenes: perfidy and murder were become common occurrences, and employed indis-

criminately, like other means of insuring success. But after the close of the sixteenth century, which was long notorious for those horrors, this inhuman disposition gradually subsided; and though some remains of it broke out occasionally, they were looked upon with general abhorrence.

The more extensive communication that has long taken place between the various parts of christendom, has humanized the tempers of men, and rendered them more tolerant of those differences in matters of religion, which, unless permitted to have their full scope, never fail to engender the most destructive, because the most lasting quarrels among men. While such differences in opinion are treated like other speculations, and not suffered to assume so much importance as to require the interference of government, they remain harmless; and whatever anathemas may be fulminated by either of the disputing parties, they will happily produce more derision than terror. It is only when the state espouses the cause of a particular sect, and authorizes it exclusively of all others, that religion becomes, instead of a blessing, a curse to society.

SECTION VIII.

The Spaniards more inclined to value solid than specious Qualifications—Their native Capacity and Eloquence—Observations upon the Spanish Language—Cultivation of some Branches of Study restrained by the Genius of their Religion—The Divinity and Philosophy of the old School still prevalent in Spain—Its former Eminence in Compositions of Wit and Humour, and in History—Strictures on the Spanish Poetry, and Drama—Miscellaneous Remarks.

SECTION VIII.

THE Spaniards, to their credit, are more inclined to value solid than specious qualifications; very unlike the generality of the French, who are strangely apt to be taken with those exterior accomplishments calculated for the purposes of pastime and pleasure, and to set a person off advantageously, without contributing to make him in the least respectable.

As such a frame of mind denotes a radical levity in these, so does an opposite disposition in the others shew that they are naturally prone to gravity: actuated by serious principles, they prize not therefore a splendid imagination so much as a sound judgment, and deem a solid character far preferable to a brilliant one. Hence the Spaniards are not so partial as the French to conversations of which the sole end is to divert and amuse, without affording a proportionable share of instruction; sallies of wit, wherein they occa-

sionally excel, are less in request among them than sensible and judicious reflections.

In the days of their splendour they made a very considerable figure in learning and literature; but these have partaken of their decline, and are no longer cultivated with the same ardour and success as formerly. Were they more sedulous in pursuits of this kind, their native ingenuity would doubtless enable them to shine in the republic of letters as much as any people; but their negligence in these matters often reduces individuals, much above the vulgar, to the necessity of drawing their knowledge from the fund of their own experience and observation. These, though excellent sources, and far exceeding in purity of truth and certitude the lucubrations of the closet alone, cannot compare with that superior extent and profoundness of acute and thorough discernment which reading and meditation give to those who are adequately conversant with the world.

From causes of this kind it happens that travellers of education are sometimes astonished at the want of it in Spanish gentle-

men of sharp wit and understanding; but in whom nature shines without the additional polish derived from books and study: many of them, indeed, seem to think the assistance of these totally needless; hence a classical elegance of stile is not a thing they anxiously aim at either in writing or discourse.

Notwithstanding this deficiency, they express themselves with striking energy when engaged in subjects wherein they feel interested; and assume a dignity of language truly surprising, when it is considered how little pains they have bestowed in order to acquire it.

This proves, however, how true it is that eloquence is much more the result of a bright and lively imagination, than of labour and assiduity in learning the precepts of rhetoric. Those of whom we are speaking, certainly did never study them; but being men of quick and sprightly fancies, they soon find words for what they have to say; and the gravity of their manner, by checking an intemperate vivacity and flow of ideas, adds weight and dignity to their delivery. Thus, however unpractised in the training of schools,

they possess the gift of speaking in a very ample degree.

The French, who have long strove to establish a persuasion of the superior merit of their language to the modern ones, have passed unfavourable judgments on the Spanish phraseology, as being perplexed with figurative modes of conveying thoughts, which ought, for the facility of comprehension, to be cleared of all embarrassments of speech, the chief ornament of which is perspicuity. But allowing for the intermixture of the Moorish idiom and taste among people so long blended as the Spaniards and the Moors, the Spanish language still retains altogether as intimate an analogy with the genius of its parent, the Latin tongue, as any of the European dialects derived from it; being as nervous and emphatical, and more pompous and majestic than any of them.

The severity of criticism has often condemned the multitude of proverbial phrases used in the Spanish modes of conversing; but they are usually conceived in a strain that raises them above vulgarity; and by a fertility

of invention they frequently assume a stile of novelty, as many a Spaniard has the talent of conferring upon them an air of originality by the new turn he gives them.

By attentively comparing the French and the Italian with the Spanish tongue, this latter will appear to have several advantages over them; the regularity of its construction far exceeds that of either, which alone is an object of essential importance; it moves, as it were, with stricter discipline and closer order: but what neither of those languages can be compared in, it contains a due measure of strength and of harmony, and is equally removed from that affected softness and effeminacy of sound, which an endless termination in vowels produces in the Italian; and from that uncouth singularity of pronunciation in the French, which renders half the letters of no use and signification in speech, to the continual disgust and perplexity of all who learn that language.

But notwithstanding the native capacity of the Spaniards, they are not upon a par with some of the European nations in the philoso-

phical knowledge of nature; much less in those metaphysical investigations that require an expansion of the mind, and a boldness as well as a freedom of thinking. This, indeed, cannot be expected where the human understanding is narrowed by superstition, and the efforts of genius circumscribed by the terrors of the inquisition, and the many other spiritual fetters with which a tyrannical clergy holds the people in a servile subjection: thus that province of learning which is most interesting to mankind, is in Spain, like the country itself, uncultivated and neglected. Classical and polite literature may be considered on a respectable footing; but though they ornament and polish, they cannot be said to enlighten the mind: men of the brightest parts in those literary branches, being often surprisingly defective in the more scientific and profound.

It is with regret one is compelled to acknowledge that those studies which meet with the most encouragement in Spain, and are deemed of the primest importance, are the dry uninteresting speculations of scholastic divinity; which, far from being of any ser-

vice to mankind, have often proved the occasion of great animosities and divisions in the christian world. About the commencement of the century before the last, Spain produced two of the most famous school disputants that ever disturbed the peace of christendom; these were Lemos and Molina, the first a dominican friar, the second a jesuit: they filled half the universities in Europe with disputes on their idle disquisitions upon grace and predestination, and other like matters of the most abstruse and inscrutable nature. The tranquillity of the Romish church suffered so much through the difference of opinion upon those subjects, that ensued in all places of their discussion, and the *odium theologicum*, the abhorrence which dissenting divines held each other in, rose to such a degree of wrath and fury, that the court of Rome was at length obliged to interpose between both parties, in order to bring about a pacification; which, however, was never thoroughly effected, the disunion and inveteracy occasioned by those absurd contentions subsisting to this day.

Spain, like the remainder of Europe, on

the revival of elegant literature, adopted the Greek and Roman authors, not only as the standards of politeness and taste in writing, but also of truth and reasoning. Aristotle, who had been for ages the supreme oracle in what was stiled philosophy, instead of losing ground in the schools, where, however, he was little known but by comments upon translations of his works, gained an accession of authority in those matters where he least deserves commendation, and is most erroneous. Herein the Spaniards did no more than conform to the absurd notions current in other countries; the partiality, or rather the infatuation in favour of this Grecian philosopher was such, that several universities, that of Paris among the rest, gave his doctrines so exclusive a right of preference to all others, as to issue formal decrees that on his works alone lectures should be read by professors to their pupils. To this imbecility a French poet humourously alludes in a satire, where he introduces a pedant fully persuaded that without Aristotle reason is blind, and good sense a dotard.

Thus the ancients, who had for centuries

been neglected, and almost sunk to oblivion in the depth of that universal darkness which so long involved all Europe, were now, through an unexpected reverse, treated with so much respect and deference, that equal homage was paid to their beauties and their errors, and both were copied with similar exactitude. In these ignorant prepossessions the Spaniards continued with other nations, during the long period from the revival of classical studies to the dawn of true philosophy; which, till the days of Bacon in England, Descartes in France, and Galilei in Italy, lay quite enveloped in authorised prejudices; which it was unlawful and dangerous to contradict, as the treatment of the two last too well exemplified. Spain did not, however, like the three last countries, emerge from this ignorance. The Ptolemaic astronomy was by the Spanish literati still preferred to the Copernican. This was the more remarkable, as they had substituted to the charts of Ptolemy, which, though faulty, were admirable for his time, the geographical system of Ortelius, who was a native of their Flemish dominions, and flourished under their patron-

age, towards the end of the sixteenth century.

In the various other branches of literature, though Spain participates a proportionable share of reputation, it has, beside the deficiencies already mentioned, made no capital figure in the mechanical and physical sciences, nor in those parts of ethics that demand profound inquiries, and wherein unrestrained energy in the exercise of reason is the only medium to arrive at truth. Such disquisitions never were, nor would ever be tolerated at this day; the spirit of bigotry has constantly opposed them, no less than the freedom of theological discussion. It is owing to these causes that Spain has sent forth no such men for the instruction of the world as Britain, France, and Germany.

While passing these strictures upon the Spaniards, we ought at the same time to acknowledge that in polite and elegant writing, in matters of wit, in works of humour and fancy, novels and romances, and in that species of composition wherein a complete knowledge of the world is required, and an acute

insight into the passions incident to human nature, and that influence the conduct and the ways of men, the Spanish writers have shewn the way to all the moderns. Cervantes, notwithstanding the number of his imitators in all parts of Europe, stands unsurpassed, if not unequalled, to this day. In history too, where gravity, pomp, and elegance of stile are next to veracity, the most necessary qualifications, their merit is eminent; Solis is hardly exceeded by any historian ancient or modern. But, as if the genius of superstition were inseparable from a Spaniard, both of those illustrious authors betray a propensity to it, the more surprising, that neither of their subjects had the least need of any supernatural embellishment to secure a favourable reception, or even seemed calculated to give it admission. The former, in that model of wit and ingenuity, his *Don Quixote*, inserts a long story of the assistance which a christian slave received from the Virgin Mary in escaping from Algiers. The latter, in his celebrated history of *The Conquest of Mexico*, introduces the Apostle James, the tutelary saint of Spain, fighting for the Spaniards, much in the same strain that Livy

represents Castor and Pollux engaged in battle on the side of the Romans.

The genius of the Spaniards does not seem so much adapted to poetry as to prose. They have no epic poem to place on a level with those of Ariosto, Tasso, or Milton. That which was composed by Alonso Dercilla, and is called *Araucana*, contains indeed some beautiful passages; but they are few considering its length: he was a man of a strong, but irregular and incorrect imagination, and of little invention and taste. Some Spanish authors have bestowed the highest praises upon this performance; but they are dictated by mere nationality. Neither do the Spaniards excel in lyric, elegiac, pastoral, or any other species of poetry, equally with the English, French, and Italians; Gongora, esteemed by the Spaniards the prince of their poets in the lyric line, is so affected as to be hardly intelligible.

Spain, till about the middle of the seventeenth century, was esteemed at the head of the European drama. The merit of the English stage was unknown abroad, and that of

the French only beginning to attract notice. Calderon, and Lopes de Vega, were at that time eminently distinguished for their numerous comedies; they had invention and wit at will; but whatever their deserts may appear in Spain, they are not mentioned out of their country with that applause which a Shakespear, a Corneille, a Racine, have so generally obtained in many parts of Europe. It is but justice, however, to acknowledge that both English and French comic writers have largely borrowed from those two Spanish authors, particularly Vega, whose talents for theatric composition were extraordinary.

The natives of Spain, at the period abovementioned, enjoyed such a reputation for acuteness and capacity, that Rapin the jesuit, who flourished at that time, in treating of the stage, ascribes to them, conjointly with the Italians, a quicker discovery of the foibles and ridicules of people, and a nicer feeling and discernment of the various characters of men, than fell to the lot of other nations. How he came to omit his countrymen, the French, in this advantageous description, is the more remarkable, that Moliere had

brought French comedy to a degree of perfection unknown to the two others. These, especially the Italians, have, it may be allowed, a particular talent in exciting laughter by a droll and ludicrous representation of the common occurrences in life, and in exhibiting ridiculous objects with a mirthful vein of buffoonery; but in refinement and delicacy of thought, in neatness and decency of expression, in judiciousness of plans, and elegance of manners, they approach neither the French nor the English. Notwithstanding the risibility and merriment abounding in their plays, from their deficiency in taste and good manners, they would not meet with the approbation of a polite audience in France or in England. Few will bear reading, much less translating; and it is but of late years, that through the exertions of some individuals of better judgment and taste in these matters than their predecessors, more sense and propriety have been introduced into some of their theatrical representations.

It has often been observed by judicious travellers, that in no part of Europe the management of the public theatres was so

wretched and contemptible as in Spain, furnishing no unfrequent exhibitions of those preposterous scenes so much in vogue about three centuries ago; when the most solemn transactions of religion, and the most serious passages of scripture, were brought upon the stage, and often, through the ignorance of decorum, converted into farces. The countenance given to such amusements is the more surprising, that the Spanish ecclesiastics, however illiterate numbers of them may be supposed, preserve that gravity in their deportment, which according to the rule of appearance, denotes a juster sense of decency than is consistent with the toleration of such scandalous freedoms; their authority and influence being so considerable, they might, and therefore ought long since to have put a stop to them. But possibly their indolence is such, that content with the income of their benefices, they feel no concern about what does not affect their personal interest, or do not perhaps discover any impropriety in the liberties taken with the exterior parts of religion, while people remain implicitly submissive in the belief of those mysteries they are permitted to act. Mean and debasing as

such pastimes must appear to persons who have been used to better methods of relaxation, they apparently occupy the leisure and attention of the high as well as of the low classes; the passion for ease, and the indolent frame of mind habitual in both, qualify them to put up satisfactorily with any sedentary amusement, however tedious and insipid.

As mankind is generally apt to run from one extreme to another, the Spaniards, notwithstanding their characteristical propensity to inaction, are noted for a species of diversion, if such a term is applicable to it, that requires the utmost activity; this is their bull fights, the danger and bloodiness of which correspond with their romantic disposition, as they recall to their imagination the tilts and tournaments for which their ancestors were so famous of yore. Two things merit notice upon these occasions; the agility displayed by the actors in these festivals, and sometimes their quality: one would think the Spaniards meant the first as a proof that their aversion to labour did not arise from a defect of spirit and vivacity; and the second

to shew that all opportunities of signalizing their intrepidity were welcome to individuals of every rank. Less indulgent spectators will probably be inclined to consider these exhibitions as instances of a frantic depravity of taste, and the appearance in them of reputable persons as a degradation similar to that of which the Roman nobility was formerly guilty in the days of their degeneracy, when they forgot their dignity so far as to act the part of gladiators, and encounter wild beasts for the entertainment of the public.

After this account of the popular and most acceptable diversions in Spain, you will readily conclude that it is not a country calculated for the satisfaction of such foreigners as visit places for the purposes of genteel pleasure only. There is hardly any part of Europe not preferable to Spain in this respect; and those of a disposition to relish only such gratifications will do well never to approach this country.

But beside these, there are other circumstances that render it peculiarly disagreeable to most Europeans, and induce them to con-

cur in opinion that it is a country where none but the natives can find much enjoyment. To say nothing of the distance and shyness usually experienced by strangers, there are inconveniences perpetually arising from the laziness of the people, and the uncleanliness of places, disgusting and intolerable to those who have been used to neat and decorous ways of living, and in whose countries cleanliness is looked upon as an indispensable requisite among the comforts of life. By such persons the offensive occurrences alluded to are evils severely felt, but fruitlessly complained of; so reconciled are the natives to the vile effects of their negligence. Madrid itself, their metropolis, and the residence of the court, often becomes pestiferous through excessive filth; and it is not many years since the city police, urged by the representations of superior authority, were fain to seek some remedy, by regularly cleansing the streets, and using other precautions.

This inexcusable omission of the care and attention due to the well-being of the community, ill agrees with that splendour and magnificence of which the Spanish grandees

are so fond, and with that solicitude in the decoration of their persons, so visible in the lowest in rank of those who can afford it. You will, however, in the course of your travels, have occasion to observe that in other countries beside Spain, people of this inconsistent disposition are found in multitudes, especially in Italy. An Englishman may, without the least partiality, claim for his country the superiority of neatness in all points to every other in Europe. Unprejudiced foreigners are particularly pleased with England upon this account, and readily acknowledge the preference they give to the elegant simplicity of our taste, over the ostentatious display of grandeur so usual abroad.

SECTION IX.

Warm Temper of the Spanish Women—Addiction to illicit Connexions—Former Seclusion from mixed Society—Its Consequences—Stinted in their Education, yet full of Sprightliness and Wit—Idolized by the Men—Their Constancy in Attachment—Resentfulness of Infidelity—French Ideas of female Predilection in their favour.

SECTION IX.

THE fair sex in Spain differs in various respects from other European women: their temper and inclinations are noted for their warmth; they pursue objects with an ardour which no obstacles can cool, and with a firmness of resolution to obtain them, which no other inducements will draw astray. Such has long been the character attributed to them; and they preserve it to this day.

They have occasionally been compared to the Turkish women, as their countrymen have been to the Turks; but the only apparent instance of resemblance between the men and women of both countries, is the love of ease, and the aversion to much personal exertion.

Though illicit attachments unhappily prevail too much every where among the gay and brilliant classes, yet they are totally different in other parts from what they are in

Spain; here, connexion between the sexes, which is transient elsewhere, often, if not usually, terminates only with life. In what light they are viewed by a people so firmly attached to their religion, and so scrupulously punctual in the observance of its severest ordinances, is not easily determined: conjugal fidelity is not less enforced by their tenets than by those of other christian persuasions; and yet the violation of it carries no appearance of criminality, and excites no scandal among the Spaniards; it seems tacitly permitted, and has been so long sanctioned by custom, that the most conscientious individuals in other respects, do not betray the least remorse in defiling the marriage bed. This is undeniably one of the most ignominious inconsistencies in the Spanish character: whatever the votaries of gallantry may alledge in its palliation, it is an indelible stain to the reputation either of a man or a woman, of the latter particularly, to live deliberately in this shameless breach of the matrimonial vow.

As the Spanish women were formerly under a stricter seclusion from promiscuous so-

ciety than at present, their desires and endeavours were the more strong and violent to obtain a greater degree of liberty; a free and open communication with the other sex being denied them, they made it their business to procure themselves a secret and hidden one: hence it was that Spain was celebrated for intrigue, and that no women were thought to exert so much ingenuity in such affairs as the Spanish. Their amorous constitution, inflamed by the severity of restraint, was represented as incessantly instigating them to pursuits of that nature. Amidst the numerous stories that were current of their licentious adventures, some doubtless were true; but when we reflect upon their general disposition, it is probable they confined their attachment to one object, in the same manner that they do at present.

Moral speculators are of opinion, that the most certain cure for female proneness to infidelity, is to place a generous confidence in their discretion, and to allow them an entire freedom of conduct; this, indeed, the most liberal minded men have always held the most effectual, as well as the most rational tie of

conjugal fidelity. The Spanish husbands at this day are not reputed so addicted to jealousy as of old; hence we may conclude that the imputations cast upon their wives, deserve not that extensive credit which the fabricators of loose tales, and their coadjutors, the freelivers, are so willing to give them.

That circumstance which is most striking to foreigners, particularly the French and the English, is, that the Spanish women are in general little indebted to education. This most certainly is on a much more splendid footing in France and England, where the fair sex produces performances of exquisite merit, than it is in Spain; here female minds owe little to regular cultivation, and may be said to receive all from nature, which has liberally supplied them with a fund of wit and sprightliness that inchant those on whom they are pleased to bestow their intimacy. In the days of their former bondage, while it was difficult to obtain more than transient glimpses of their charms, it was natural for men to strive how to remove the impediments that barred access to their presence: this not being attainable by the lawful means of cus-

tomary intercourse, the usual propensity of men to overcome difficulties of this kind prompted them to leave no expedient untried to gain admittance to what, perhaps, at first was only the object of their curiosity and admiration. These passions, innocent to a certain degree, not being gratified, became through denial a more serious one. Thus in Spain, as in all countries where the sex is studiously kept out of sight, the thoughts of men were continually employed in devising methods to break into their concealments.

From the peculiar disposition of the Spanish women their connexions with men are not of the same frivolous and transitory nature as in France and in other places: a Spanish lady who bestows her affections, expects the strictest and completest reciprocation; and as she observes inviolate fidelity on her side, cannot bear the idea of prevarication on that of her lover. When guilty of falsehood he has much more to apprehend from his double dealing than the mere loss of his mistress; the spirit of a Spanish woman in love matters being very resentful, when her jealousy, which is ever on the watch, discovers the per-

fidy of a lover. This vindictive, unforgiving temper has been carried to such excess, that women have been known to procure the death of their rivals, as well as of their lovers, when forsaken by them. An atrocious instance of revenge is recorded of one, who gave the option of the bowl or the dagger to her perfidious paramour; who was compelled, by the situation she had previously taken care to place him in, to accept of the former of these dreadful alternatives.

Jealousy does not in the mean time operate with less violence in the men; whose resentments, when they are used unfaithfully, have often produced scenes of a very tragical nature, no nation in Europe being more liable to experience the terrible effects of that dangerous passion. Infidelity, however, is far from being the characteristic of a Spaniard; love is, in Spain, an affair of too serious an importance to be trifled with; and to succeed, or to fail in it, are objects of the most anxious desires or apprehensions.

French writers and travellers describe the Spaniards as not masters of so much art and

grace in expressing their passion as themselves. But allowing the French to excel the Spaniards, and perhaps other nations, in the science of verbal courtship, they certainly fall short of them in the more essential qualifications of truth and constancy, the two principal virtues in a lover, and which amply atone for want of choice in his words, or of gracefulness in his manner.

The French, whatever they may pretend, are not viewed with superior predilection by the fair sex either in Spain or in Italy; the levity of their disposition is too well known to procure them much favour. They deal so much in complimentary phrases, that they frequently render themselves objects of ridicule, and consequently of disregard. Their vanity, indeed, is not easily abashed; and the high opinion they entertain of their talents of pleasing never forsakes them. But, with few exceptions, they are too confident and forward to make any impression upon persons of discernment, who readily see through their artifice and affectation, and are not to be deceived by the insidious elegance of their manners.

SECTION X.

Concluding Reflections on the political Circumstances of Spain in reference to the general Situation of Europe at this Day.

SECTION X.

An impartial examination of the disposition and qualities of the natives of Spain at this day, will induce us to think, that notwithstanding the decline of their national greatness and importance, they still retain a sufficient number of personal virtues to procure them esteem and respect as individuals.

There are two kinds of degeneracy; that which relates to the public and political character of a nation, and that which affects the private and personal one of its members. This latter is the most deplorable in the eye of reason; but the former is the most disgraceful in the eye of pride. A state may be potent and formidable while its citizens do not possess any of those qualifications that tend to render man amiable, but, on the contrary, distinguish themselves by those vices that produce the disasters of society. Thus the Romans, at that period which preceded the overthrow of the republic, were become

the most worthless of men, while other nations lay prostrate, as it were, before them, and basely paid homage to the oppressive government which those tyrannic rulers established wherever their arms prevailed. But as they had preserved the military virtues, after having lost all the other, the pusillanimity of mankind qualified them with the name of a great and illustrious people; and they were neither by themselves, nor by others, thought to have degenerated.

Thus it appears, that unfortunately for men their prejudices are in favour of their greatest enemies. The destroyers of states and nations, the shedders of blood for the most inhuman purposes, those of lawless conquest, are, if successful, placed on the summit of glory; as if, instead of being the worst of malefactors, they were the greatest benefactors, and brightest ornaments of human nature.

These unhappily are truths which cannot too forcibly nor repeatedly be inculcated; especially when we consider with how little impression they are accompanied, that ages

have revolved since the wisdom of the worthiest men has lost no opportunity of recalling them to notice, and that instead of expelling the illusion which they are so assiduously brought forward to encounter, it still continues in possession of the human mind.

No people can lament their past greatness more feelingly than the Spaniards. They deeply regret those triumphant times, as they stile them, when Spain alone made all Europe tremble; when their victorious armies carried terror every where; when the combined force of all their enemies could hardly stand before them. But when actuated by that fatal pride which prompts men to glory in the worst part of their character, the Spaniards boast of what they were formerly, they should as often be reminded that those delusive principles on which they found their grandeur of old, are wholly repugnant to reason and justice; and are only admissible among those of whom the minds have been perverted, and the hearts rendered callous by the prejudices imbibed in early years, and taught them on the one hand by ignorance

and imbecility, and countenanced on the other by iniquitous and wrongheaded policy.

When they have duly reflected on their past and on their present situation, and impartially contrasted them, they will not repine at the change of their political circumstances, so far as they relate to the general system of Europe. There is only one object which they have a right to consider as mortifying—the mean dependance in which they are held by France; but it is their own work, and if they have not sense and spirit to throw off so ignominious a yoke, they deserve it: until they have effected their deliverance, let them be silent on their past glories, and learn submission to their tyrants. But should they happily resume activity and courage to expel them, they will find ample reason to be satisfied with their condition: they will not, indeed, by striking terror and spreading alarm as heretofore, excite the fears of nations; but neither will they incur their hate, nor engage them to unite on every side for their destruction. A state that enjoys the good will and the confidence of

others, is happier certainly than that which provokes them through its ambition, though it terrifies them by its power. The field of accidents is wide, and empires frequently fall by such as are unforeseen and unexpected; the fatal blow was given to Spain itself in the height of its greatness. The remembrance of this unlooked-for catastrophe ought to be a lesson to the ambitious how insecurely they rely on the firmest appearances of permanent successes: the misfortune of a day often deranges all their projects, and places their enemies above them.

Reasoning on such principles, it is evident that the cessation of means to disturb the peace of the world is not a national calamity, any more than a pacific disposition can be construed into degeneracy. The loss of its American colonies has diminished the extent of the British empire, but has not, most assuredly, lessened the greatness of the British spirit. As the natural result of immense possessions is ambition, and as this leads finally to the detriment, commonly indeed to the ruin of states that misuse the power they possess, the more extensive it is, the more care-

ful they should be to act with moderation; the surest rule to render them permanent and flourishing. The principal cause of the long continuance of the prosperity and grandeur of Great Britain, is not only the excellence of its government, and the spirit and industry of its inhabitants, but the peaceable inclinations of its rulers, and their noted averseness to engage in ambitious projects, together with their no less known readiness to concur in repressing the ambition of others.

From these various arguments sufficient motives may be deduced to satisfy the reasonable part of the Spanish nation how little cause they have to lament the reduction of their monarchy, from its once enormous, to its now more moderate extent, though sufficiently large to be ranked among the most considerable kingdoms in the world. Its domestic felicity is in the hands of those who preside over its affairs; and if prudent, they will be content with security at home, and cautiously abstain from the renewal of ambitious disputes abroad, wherein Spain can never engage but to its detriment.

It must be acknowledged, that owing to a complication of unfavourable events, produced by an injudicious and dispirited government, the people of Spain have been reduced to a state of internal weakness and despondency unprecedented at any period of their history. But there is no reason to despair of their becoming able to retrieve themselves; their condition was entirely similar at the time of the contest between the houses of Bourbon and of Austria, for the succession to their crown. They remained several years almost passive in the dispute. It was not until the arrival among them of the famous Marshal Vendome, a general after their own heart, that they recovered from dejection, and repaired from all quarters to his standard. Under this great warrior they became excellent soldiers, and instantly changed the face of the war; instead of flying before the enemy, they encountered him every where with an intrepidity that astonished him: they contributed essentially to the gain of every battle won by that celebrated commander, who did not scruple to equal them to any troops in Europe.

There is no reason to imagine, that were some military genius, of a superior class, to arise among them, or were such auxiliaries to come to their assistance as they could depend upon for their fidelity and martial talents, they would not speedily resume their courage, and act as they did on the above emergency.

Let us recollect in the mean time that they still preserve the radical fund of those virtues and great qualities, upon which are founded the welfare and glory of nations. The probity and generosity of the Spanish gentlemen, and persons of any figure in life, are proverbial; there are no men in whose honour and integrity a greater degree of trust and confidence is more universally reposed: their personal spirit is equally acknowledged. Some foreigners, the French particularly, would restrict these qualifications to the higher classes; but they are found in many of the inferior, and among the commonest people.

The grand object long wanted and long desired by the patriotic part of the Spanish na-

tion, that alone which can effectually remedy the evils that have pervaded for years every branch of government, is an administration composed of individuals, natives of Spain, warmly devoted to the interest of their country, exclusive of all subserviency to any other, and earnestly inclined and determined to promote the exertion of every quality and talent that may be rendered of national utility.

But none of the ministries that have taken place since the reign of the last Ferdinand deserve such a character; they were chiefly anxious to preserve their authority, and to depress the spirit of the public, the effects of which they dreaded were it once to be rouzed. Conscious of deserving the odium they had incurred, they laboured for that reason to reduce the nation to the meanest degree of obedience, or rather of abjectness, in order to keep it in silence and awe. Their imprudence was such, that they endeavoured to compass this end by a conduct full of disregard and contempt for customs and manners that were of time immemorial, as if want of respect to the body of a people were the me-

thod to enforce compliance and submission. They had the temerity to issue orders for a total change in the national dress; but this rash and audacious attempt was viewed in its proper light, as an insult to the public, and resisted accordingly. The indignation and defiance it met with in the face of royal and of armed authority, shewed the Spaniards to be men, who, though willing for the sake of internal tranquillity to submit to government, even when acting erroneously, were not, however, to be insulted by the tyrannical capriciousness of a court.

Low, nevertheless, must the Spanish nation have fallen in the opinion of its oppressors, when, not satisfied with the unopposed exercise of unlimited sway in affairs of state, they could not rest till they had made the oppressed sensible of their own insignificancy, by compelling them to adopt the usages of a people whom they hated, and among whom (an additional motive of hatred) the men were born who treated them with so much contempt.

Italian ministers of state have always been

peculiarly unwelcome in Spain; not that they are held deficient in abilities, but that they are reputed more intriguing and restless than others. But it is not to Italian statesmen only the Spaniards have a repugnance; they are justly averse to other foreigners; having experimentally found the impropriety of placing them at the head of their affairs, which they conducted always unfortunately.

In this averseness the Spaniards are very justifiable. To be governed by unskilful ministers is doubtless a great misfortune, but it is a much greater one when ministers, however able and experienced, are aliens. Though inadequate to the task he has assumed, or that has been imposed upon him, a native is incontestibly more inclined than a foreigner can be supposed, to act to the best of his judgment and capacity, for the good of a community wherein he has, during his whole life felt himself deeply interested; however subservient to the desires of his sovereign, he naturally retains an attachment to his country. But the transactions that have taken place in Spain for a century past, have plainly

demonstrated that little of this was felt by those adventurers (they deserve no better name) who, under the protection of misguided princes, obtruded themselves into the government of their kingdom, and plunged it into difficulties, to make trial as it were of their political skill in the management of arduous enterprises.

It may possibly be alleged in mitigation of this conduct, that they followed the precedents of former ministries, and were not more culpable therefore than many of those Spanish statesmen had been who yet hold so distinguished a rank in the opinion of their countrymen. In answer to this, which however is no justification for bad measures, impartiality obliges one to confess that unhappily for Spain, its rulers have been more neglectful of its real interests than any other administrations in Europe. This negligence is of long standing, and may be traced to the very formation of the vast monarchy that arose from the union of those families in which it centered.

The science of politics was very imper-

fectly understood at that time. Elated with the acquisition of a new world, and possessing the richest parts of the old, the Spanish monarchs knew no bounds to their expectations, and grasped in thought the scepter of both hemispheres. Their people seconded their ambition, and it is hard to say which of the two indulged it most; the prospect of universal sovereignty fired the former, and the thirst of conquest for the sake of riches excited the cupidity of the latter: thus, both kings and subjects equally conspired to keep alive the double flame of ambition and avarice, blended together for their alternate support. They forgot, or rather they did not appear to know, that mines of gold and silver are sooner exhausted than those that are found in industry and economy; they blindly imagined that the possession of the first would supersede the necessity of recurring to the last. Hence they neglected every means of prospering, saving that of digging the precious metals out of the bosom of the earth; relying upon them alone for the preventing of every want, and the satisfying of every desire. In this delusion they long continued; nor were they alone under its pernicious in-

fluence; the rest of Europe, by its eagerness to discover lands producing gold, and making the search of it their whole labour, plainly shewed that they did not, any more than the Spaniards, know the superior value of an industrious disposition to the mere accumulation of treasure: a truth, of which the ignorance was therefore the more pardonable in these, as it was common at that period; but of which, it may be added, they purchased the knowledge at a greater cost than any other people, as they did not obtain it until their strength was wasted, their country depopulated, and the means of retrieving their losses almost entirely cut off.

This was a severe destiny, but it did not completely cure them of those errors to which they owed it: they still continued to admire the maxims and conduct of the courts and administrations under which they had been such continual sufferers. After the demise of the last monarch of the Austrian line, under whom the ruin of the realm was completed, though not through his fault, who was rather an unfortunate than a bad king, they deeply lamented the extinction of that fa-

mily, and dwelt on the praises of its several princes as if they had been models of royal wisdom and virtues; forgetting, or not perceiving, it was through the reverse of these that Spain had been involved in the most stupendous ruin that had befallen any state in modern ages; from the most potent it was now become one of the weakest and least considered in Europe, and a people, once the greatest in the world, were brought to poverty and insignificance.

When the sceptre was transferred into the hands of a foreign race, it was not surprising that the commendable nationality which ought to warm the hearts of kings, should be totally banished from their councils, and that the use of a newly-acquired and adventitious power, should be wholly converted to personal ends. A recapitulation of the events that have marked the reigns of the Bourbon dynasty in Spain, exhibits an uninterrupted series of proofs, that in the plans of aggrandizement incessantly forming in favour of the younger branches of the royal family, no other idea was entertained of Spain itself, than of a fund which was to supply the men

and money that would be wanted for those purposes. Such was the treatment of a people that had so firmly and perseveringly adhered to that family in the long and obstinate struggle for the Spanish crown, and endured so many hardships to preserve it on their head. The native loyalty of the Spaniards contained them, with few exceptions, within the bounds of silent discontent; they could not but feel this ill usage, but they hoped to find a better remedy from patient acquiescence than from opposition and complaint, which might, in their apprehension, have produced still greater evils.

But this suppression of the public resentment was attended by a consequence highly injurious to the nation; it broke the spirit of the people at large. The dissatisfaction that ensued among the thinking part of the community, at seeing the state sacrificed to foreign interests, and the despair of redressing so great an evil, naturally bred an abhorrence of the projects in agitation, and of their authors, who were considered as betrayers of the state unhappily committed to their charge. These sentiments being justly founded were

soon diffused. From this popular diffidence in government, and aversion to its measures, proceeded that worst of national calamities, a general despondency and repugnance to act with vigour under administrations which were held unworthy of trust.

Such was the necessary result of the politics adopted by statesmen who could not, from the uniform tenor of their conduct ever since their accession to power, be supposed to have at heart the happiness of the country which they governed. Individuals, who were inclined to view things in a moral light, looked upon Spain as deservedly treated in the same manner it had done its American possessions, which it constantly drained of all the resources they could yield; as if the oppressive usage of those from whom it drew them, was an object of no consideration. To individuals of this cast, the humbled situation of a monarchy that had long assumed a dictatorial arrogance wherever its influence extended, and laboured at the establishment of universal sway, appeared an obvious retaliation, justly merited by the tyranny and am-

bition it had exercised during its fatal ascendancy over the rest of Europe.

The fate of Spain is a striking admonition to those rulers of mankind who study to erect their greatness on the soil of ambition. In the ruinous vicissitudes that finally awaited this monarchy, as they usually do most states that seek their aggrandizement by similar means, they must perceive the transitoriness of those plans of grandeur that are not framed upon safe and just principles.

Plans erected upon temporary successes are commonly attended with too much presumption to be trusted; however vigorously entered upon, they depend on the concurrence of lucky events, without the uninterrupted continuance of which they prove abortive. Of this nature have been most of the plans founded merely upon warlike exploits. The brilliant career of Charles the Twelfth of Sweden, after lasting some years, did not outlive the loss of one battle: the victories of two of his predecessors, Gustavus Adolphus and Charles the Tenth, in Germany and Poland, produced nothing answerable to their

ideas, and the vast hopes they had formed. Much the same may be said of the advantages obtained by the allies over the Spaniards, aided by the French, during the war in Spain for the succession to that crown. The projects formed by those three princes, and by the allies alluded to, though successful in the outset, did not rest on solid ground; they had frequently defeated their enemies, but they had not deprived them of the means nor of the determination to make a powerful resistance: while these two resources remain, it is rash to proceed upon sanguine expectations against those who possess them.

Other instances may be quoted to shew the imprudence of placing any great confidence in schemes formed only upon the fortunate chances of war. Being indisputably the most precarious of all motives to act upon, they should not enter into the calculation of any design requiring a stable bottom. Frequent were the advantages obtained by the armies sent by the eastern emperors to recover Italy from the northern nations that had subdued it; their hopes thus kept alive, long induced them to make the most strenuous efforts; but

these were fruitless, and contributed materially to diminish the strength of their own dominions. The splendid idea of renewing the Roman empire, blinded those princes to the inutility of attempting it; nor was this ascertained until the great victories gained by the celebrated Belisarius to no effect, convinced them of the necessity of desisting from so vain a pursuit.

More recent examples will be found in the long and obstinate wars between the two royal families of the Plantagenets in England, and the Valois in France, for the right of succession to this latter crown. During that famous quarrel, the martial achievements of the English were far greater than those of the French, who lost many a memorable day. But the triumphs of the English terminated only to their glory: the fields of Cressy, Poictiers, and Agincourt, will remain lasting monuments of the prowess of our ancestors; but they were ineffectual to the end proposed—the conquest of France. After losing so much blood in this vain and destructive contest, experience taught the English, and all other nations to come, that a system of conquest and greatness, depending entirely

upon victories, will not succeed while the spirit of defence, and the resources to keep it alive, are not wholly destroyed. States of moderate power have proved this, as well as those of greater; Holland is sufficient to be named; it remained invincible till torn asunder by internal feuds and treachery.

The only secure, as well as justifiable plan to aggrandize a country and nation, is therefore a good government; a truth that calls for no repetition, but which is however much better known in theory than it is remembered in practice. Great Britain rose to prosperity through such means; so did the late Seven United Provinces. This happiness has also more than once been within the reach, and at the option it may be said of the two greatest states in Europe, and in modern times—Spain first, and France next. At the conclusion of the fifteenth century the Spanish monarchy was in the most splendid and fortunate situation; domestic peace was attended with prosperity at home and abroad of every description. France, at the Pyrenean peace, a century and a half ago, was exactly in similar circumstances. An equitable government in both kingdoms would have

carried their happiness and glory to the highest summit, and rendered them the models of the European world. But ambition seized the minds, and perverted the measures of their rulers; they commenced the disturbers of mankind each at his day, and continued such until they could act the part no longer. Spain met with its due punishment, and so would France have done a century ago had those to whose hands it was committed discharged their duty. Through this fatal neglect France revived, and resumed its plans of hostility to the peace of Europe. Favourable opportunities to check them have again arisen, but they have unaccountably been lost or thrown away. The danger hidden in the bosom of that turbulent nation was not suspected, until that volcano of passions broke out which extended the conflagration to every neighbour.

It now remains, in defiance of the adverse appearances that threaten Europe, and, what is much worse, that have disheartened so many powers, to rally round those who have not resigned themselves to despair, and seem resolved to maintain the contest till every species of exertion against the common enemy shall have been brought to the completest

trial. It is the general opinion that unskilful management only has of late militated so mightily in his favour; the courage of his men is by no means decisive of success, as vainly reputed by himself, and meanly allowed by those many of his spiritless enemies, who, lying prostrate before him, would gladly see companions of their ignominious situation, by circulating fear and discouragement among his opponents.

But it is no longer time to vaunt of his heroic bravery; the late action in Calabria, where a large body of his choicest men yielded to a much smaller one of British troops, has decided at once on which side the superiority of valour lies. It will probably silence his boastings, as far as shame can restrain them; but it will certainly abate his presumption, and impress him with more terror than he may be willing to own.

The great object for the contemplation of those European powers whom ill treatment should rouze to insurrection, and whom prudence ought long ago to have bound together with indissoluble ties, is to make it appear that they are inflexibly resolved to resist

France to the last, at every cost and hazard. This resolution once clearly ascertained, will revive the drooping spirit of those who submit with a disgraceful patience to her thraldom; and who will never dare to disobey her mandates until they see such an opposition arise, as may, through the determination and perseverance of those who conduct it, and the desperate exertions of those who fight under their banners, excite a just hope that a successful stand may finally be made against the common enemy.

Intoxicated with unexpected success, the French have, in affected imitation of the ancient Romans, adopted their idea—that not to conquer is to be overcome; hence they will continue to act with the heat and impetuosity peculiar to them, as well as to their ancestors the Gauls. But by the same rule that the vigour of these, when repulsed, was wont notoriously to relax, may it not be presumed that a spirited stand will effectually disconcert the French, used as they have so much been to meet with ill conducted resistance. The first failure of any importance on their side would, in all likelihood, strike them with so much astonishment at a reverse of

fortune, of which their arrogance will hardly admit the possibility, that a panic might ensue, as frequently has been precedented on similar occurrences, irretrievably fatal to their military spirit.

In the present situation of Europe, it is a hazardous conjecture in what quarter an insurrection may with more probability be expected than in another. Germany and Russia have been so recently, and the former so thoroughly humbled, that they do not seem to be recovered from their consternation. To this it may be added, that the division of Germany into separate states, differing in views and interests, is a material obstacle to their union; and Russia is at best a wavering power on which no stable reliance can be placed, unless indeed some extraordinary alterations should happen there. We must therefore look to the south of Europe for the object in contemplation: but here a long acquiescence in French politics seems to present a number of difficulties in its emancipation from the ruinous influence of France, the burden and infamy of whose oppressions are daily encreasing. But may not this very

circumstance prove at length so galling and offensive to the feelings of a people naturally high-minded and resentful, as to rouze at once their universal indignation and resistance? When we appreciate the actual condition of Spain, the country alluded to, and consider its union under one sovereign, the native loyalty and bravery of the Spanish nation, their rooted antipathy to the French, with whom their connexion is involuntary, and wholly repugnant to their principles and inclinations; when these considerations are duly weighed, together with the shame all classes are known to express at having so long and so tamely submitted to the yoke of France, it would not prove a matter of surprise that they should be stimulated by these various motives to throw it off and to assert their independence.

Spain is a country of which the population, though not proportionate to its extent, is amply sufficient to repel an invasion, provided the people are resolutely united in their own defence: the very extensiveness is such as to throw numerous obstructions in the way of an enemy. This particular was often al-

leged as an insurmountable bar to success, by the commanders of the allied forces, during the war for the succession to the Spanish crown. A British general, who had been frequently victorious in the field, used to complain that the Spaniards were so obstinate in their resistance, that after crushing them in one quarter they constantly started up in another; such being the distance of places to be secured or recovered from the enemy, that armies could seldom reach them in time, as they were equally liable to be worn down with fatigue, and arrested by the difficulties that continually occurred in the procuring of necessaries; and thus, in his own words, might wander over the whole country without subduing it.

Should the Spaniards, animated to revenge by the injuries they have sustained, determine upon a general insurrection, allowing their means and courage to be adequate to the task, it will in all likelihood be a considerable time before they are able to put an effectual stop to the progress of the foe, by compelling him to withdraw from the territories of Spain; but this he will not do without

having previously disputed every inch of ground; and it will require a long and vigorous continuance of their exertions in order to compass this point. It may, however, be presumed they will finally succeed, especially if assisted by Britain in the powerful manner that will become requisite on so momentous an occasion; and if they co-operate on their part with a spirit and perseverance worthy of the great struggle they will be engaged in for their national honour and independence, and act at the same time with an enthusiastic determination to go through every length of labour and difficulty that may arise in the course of the contest.

It is deserving of notice, that Marlborough employed nearly three years in combating the French upon equal ground; it was not until the third, that he fought that decisive battle which put an end to their victorious career. Their defeat was total, and every way complete; so thoroughly was their strength broken, that they never recovered it during that war: yet, previously to the day of Blenheim, they were full of ardour and confidence, and their armies re-

puted the most formidable in Europe. It was upon this conviction that Lewis ventured to face that alliance which after an obstinate struggle on his part overthrew his grandeur, and reduced him to the lowest humiliation.

It were a pity that political justice should not overtake the French, as it has done other ambitious nations. Not one of the countries under their subjection bears it with any acquiescence, and all eagerly wait the moment when to shake off the yoke: but those whom they wish to undertake their deliverance will not attempt it without their own co-operation. It is only through their own unyielding exertions they can hope to succeed. The longer they delay resistance to the oppressor, the stronger becomes his determination and means of oppression; and the weaker, at the same time, the ability of the oppressed to co-operate in their own deliverance.

PART II.

VIEWS

OF

THE PAST AND OF THE PRESENT

STATE

OF THE

PEOPLE OF ITALY.

SECTION I.

General Idea of the Italians—Politics the chief Study of the educated Classes—Men of eminent Wit and Ingenuity that have appeared among them in the middle and in modern Ages—Their native Genius depressed by Superstition and Tyranny—First Revivers of polite Learning and the Fine Arts in Europe—Remarks on the chief Objects of their Studies at that Time—Strictures upon Machiavel—Power and Prosperity of their various Republics some Centuries ago—Ridiculous Methods of carrying on their Wars—Great Military Characters among them in latter Times—Their Improvements in the Art of War.

VIEWS, *&c.*

SECTION I.

THE first observation you will naturally be led to make, after travelling some time in Italy, and recalling to your mind what you have read concerning that country and its inhabitants, is, that no Europeans differ so much in character from their ancestors as the present Italians from the past. All the people inhabiting the various parts of Europe retain to this day strong resemblances of their forefathers in many material respects; while the Italians seem to have undergone nearly a total change in their minds and manners: such is the general idea that persons of education and reading are apt to form of the natives of Italy at this day.

The principal cause of this striking alte-

ration is doubtless the almost uninterrupted series of revolutions which befell that country after the destruction of the Roman empire. It continued for ages the prey of fierce and barbarous invaders, or of ambitious and oppressive conquerors, under whom the natives lost every vestige of their former spirit, and gradually sunk into a state of passive submission to their subduers.

As the once formidable masters of Italy, the Romans of old, were celebrated for their martial disposition and warlike qualities, their descendants, if such a term is applicable, have in latter times been chiefly conspicuous for an addiction to the study of politics: the most refined speculations upon subjects of this nature have been produced in Italy, which is deservedly renowned for some of the greatest politicians and historians in modern ages.

But theory, more than practice, seems now to characterize the Italians in these matters. Though many of their writings are highly worthy of attention, the perusal of them is more entertaining than instructive, as they are

founded upon speculations that are usually very difficult to realize. Considerable advancements have certainly been made in the science of government by the many enlightened individuals who have appeared among them; but we do not find their countrymen much benefited by their labours. To do them justice, however, it must be acknowledged that the practical part did not lay in their power; which, unhappily for society, is commonly the case of its ablest as well as best intentioned members.

The result has been, that with all their endeavours to serve the public few countries in Europe are worse governed than Italy, and no people in many parts more indigent and destitute of those comforts and conveniencies of life that are produced by industry: a condition the more surprising, as they dwell in a land abounding in natural productions, and proverbially stiled the garden of Europe.

Among the many states into which Italy was in a manner parcelled out before they were all swallowed up in the French revolution, there were only two, if one of them

could be called a state, where the interest of the community was properly consulted. One of them was the republic of Lucca, for its extent the most flourishing city in Italy. Its inhabitants were noted not only for their opulence, but their spirit: a quarrel broke out between them and the Grand Duke of Tuscany at the commencement of the last century; notwithstanding the far superior power of this sovereign, they explicitly bid him defiance, and every man among them that was able took up arms for the common defence. The numbers they mustered upon this occasion were such, that the duke thought it most prudent to yield to an accommodation.

The other state is St. Marino, which the policy of France has ostentatiously spared from the general wreck, in order to make a parade of pretended and ridiculous moderation.

These two excepted, all the other states of Italy were enslaved either by despotism or aristocracy, both equally oppressive to their respective subjects; and as jealous of autho-

rity and ready to maintain it, by all the unwarrantable acts of private and concealed severity, as by the public and avowed methods of open force.

Thus it happened that the Italians, though inferior to no people whatever in the native endowments of genius and sagacity, were prevented from exerting them by the fetters which the destructive weight of arbitrary power naturally throws upon the human faculties.

Those who have dispassionately examined the character of the Italians, will readily acknowledge that they are a people competent to all that dignifies human nature, and renders a nation great and respectable. Sense and ingenuity they unquestionably possess in an eminent degree; many of the most useful and elegant inventions and improvements are due to them, and they shone in the darker ages much above the level of other Europeans. They discovered the most valuable properties of the loadstone, and constructed the mariner's compass; they invented notes for music, and first reduced it to a science. There

was indeed hardly any branch of art wherein they did not long superiorly excel. The celebrated names of Dante, Boccacio, and Petrarca, belong to those ages, and they produced many of the most illustrious preservers and cultivators of every species of literature then extant. Nor let it be forgotten that some of the greatest philosophers in latter times were born in Italy, and more would questionless have been produced, had not superstition on the one hand, and tyranny on the other, effectually contributed to depress those abilities which freedom of thinking only can bring to maturity: witness the famous Galilei, whose fate it was to be severely punished by the court of Rome for having advanced opinions in philosophy now universally acknowledged to be just.

Three centuries ago Italy had the honour of leading the way to a revival of the liberal arts. Previously to this period, while the rest of Europe was slowly emerging from ignorance and barbarism, polite learning was cultivated in Italy with the most splendid success. So superior were the Italians to all their European neighbours, that they spoke

of them as the Greeks and Romans were wont to do of all other nations, by the stile and appellation of barbarians. It was usual in the epistolary correspondence of the Italian literati at that time to mention foreigners by that designation.

It was, however, when we consider things impartially, more to their situation than singly to their own efforts and capacity, they owed the revival of Grecian literature. Had not their neighbours the Greeks been driven by the Turkish arms and conquests into Italy, and brought with them the only property they had left, that of their books and knowledge, the Italians might have remained as ignorant in those respects as the rest of Europe.

But with all these acquisitions their progress in real science was very imperfect; a skill in the learned languages was commonly the utmost they could boast; ancient history was not studied with a sufficiently critical application, any more than the philosophy of the Greek and Latin writers; elegance of diction was what they chiefly admired: the in-

vestigation of the matter itself was a secondary consideration. It is particularly remarkable that the Italian most conversant in the politics of antiquity, laid them aside when he should have consulted them most: this was the well known Machiavel, who flourished at this period, and whose famous, or rather infamous book, written by him purposely for the instruction of a prince, inculcates chiefly such maxims as ought to procure extermination to their abettors. Though many of his writings are excellent, it is principally when he assumes the character of an historian; for his politics, it is notorious, are become a term of reproach to their advocates.

And yet it cannot be denied that the arts of Italian policy were at this epocha entirely consistent with those taught by Machiavel; and his performance was a faithful description of the conduct of many of his cotemporary princes. The atrocious temper of the times gave countenance to his principles during a number of years, and influenced the character of individuals both in their public and private transactions.

There were at the same time, however, persons of happier ideas and dispositions, chiefly in the republican states of Italy; these converted their studies and knowledge to more laudable uses, and greatly improved their laws and government. At Venice especially, during a long period, the severity of an aristocracy was considerably moderated by the prudence and lenity of some illustrious individuals; the people grew rich and happy through the extensiveness of their trade, and the equitable administration of their rulers. The state itself, through their wisdom and conduct, became by degrees so flourishing and powerful, as to excite the jealousy of several of the principal monarchs in Europe, by whom a league was formed against them for the reduction of their power.

It may not be amiss to remark, that in after times Lewis the Fourteenth of France was induced by similar motives to attack the Dutch, who, like the Venetians, had, by a diffusive commerce and a wise government, attained an extraordinary degree of prosperity, which gave rise to a degree of envy that involved them in a like storm of danger.

During the course of several centuries previous to about the middle of the fifteenth, the united exertions of freedom and industry had given birth to various republics in Italy that were become rich and flourishing, and might have long retained their liberty had they not fallen into domestic disunion, which ended quickly in their subversion.

Not long before the period alluded to, the Italians, strange to relate, had rendered themselves objects of ridicule throughout Europe, by their extraordinary, and until then unheard-of, modes of waging war. When their petty princes disagreed (and they were almost ever at variance) they sent forth armies and generals whose business was not to fight, but to meet peaceably, and adjust in a friendly interview, how both sides should join in battle without slaughter. This was no difficult matter to settle, as the officers and soldiers of both parties were hirelings, in nowise animated with any of that fury which national antipathy creates, and whose sole view was to make a shew of fighting. Thus, when drawn out in array, they would mix in combat without giving blows, or at least without aiming at

mutual destruction; and they who were pushed or forced off the field by the superior strength or dexterity of their antagonists, were deemed to have lost the day. Sometimes, indeed, when sieges were undertaken, it became necessary to make use of cannon; but they were fired only at places which the besiegers and the besieged had previously agreed upon; and one may well imagine that care was taken that nobody should be in the way of receiving hurt. Nor were the hours of rest and relaxation forgotten: from sunset till sun-rise they enjoyed uninterrupted repose: and upon all Sundays and holidays (of which there was at that time a much greater number than at present) there was an entire suspension of hostilities, if the word be applicable to such farces.

The only way to account for such unusual proceedings between states or princes at enmity with each other, seems to suppose the subjects of both so immersed in the enjoyments of life, and in such prosperous circumstances, as to render them averse to relinquish their homes and their pleasures upon any considerations; and to prefer the contri-

buting to any expenditure, however large the amount, to the incurring of fatigue and personal danger. This humour pervading the whole mass of society, those who were in possession of power, unwilling to risk the loss of it by running counter to the settled temper and inclination of men, chose to avail themselves of their readiness to pay largely for an exemption from military service. This could the more easily be dispensed with, as Italy then abounded with vagabonds stiling themselves soldiers, who rambled over the country in quest of employment under that name, and whose chiefs were always ready to let them out at a stipulated price. From the high sounding and terrific appellations these chiefs assumed, one might have presumed they were men of a tremendous character; but they certainly did not thirst for blood, and provided they were amply paid, and came in occasionally for their share of plunder, they courted neither peril nor fame; feeling no patriotic attachments, they were friends or foes as profit directed them, alternately embracing either side without affection or enmity.

The claims of foreign princes, and their in-

terference in the affairs of Italy, put an end to this pacific system of warring. The entrance of the Spaniards, the French, and the Germans, obliged the Italians to adopt other measures, and to second the designs of the respective nations whose cause they severally espoused, by following their examples in the prosecution of war. Herein to do them justice, many of these mercenary bands soon became no less expert: some of the Emperor's Charles the Fifth's best troops and commanders were Italians. This proves that there was no radical defect in talents and aptitude for war in the natives of this country. They have continued to evince their courage and capacity in succeeding times: many of the most material improvements in the art of war are due to them; some of the greatest generals in latter ages, a Spinola, a Montecucali, and many others who were born in Italy, shew what men it is able to produce, and remind us of those that sprung from it in former times.

SECTION II.

Hostile Irruptions of foreign Nations into Italy—Corrupted by the Italians in their Morals—Improved in their Knowledge of the Fine Arts—Late Depredations committed by the French upon the Works of the Italian Artists—Excellence of the Italian Historians and Poets—Decline of the superior Genius of the Italians in Literature and the Polite Arts—surpassed in several of these by other Nations at this Day—Distinguished at present chiefly by their musical Talents.

SECTION II.

The intercourse brought about by political causes between the Italians and their neighbours had subsisted for ages; but now became closer than ever through the connexions formed by the interests and ambition of the different potentates striving to establish themselves in Italy, whose princes and states they found it necessary to win over to their respective claims.

But the intimacies contracted between the Italians and foreigners were not to the advantage of these; they gradually lost that openness and simplicity of dealing which excels all art and finesse, and carried home the science of craft and dissimulation, which at that time was the policy most in vogue among the Italian princes. In a short time the courts of France and Spain became the seminary of those politicians who disturbed their own country and all Europe by intrigues, the drift of which was to promote

domestic mischief, and make their personal welfare consist in the detriment of others, or to kindle the flames of enmity among foreign powers, in order to profit by their differences. Hence it became the complaint of the strict moralists of that age, that while the communication with the Italians had sharpened the wits and understandings of their neighbours, it had proportionably corrupted their morals and manners, and substituted speciousness and courtly refinements to their former candour and magnanimity.

Without dwelling upon these censures, which, though partly admissible, should not be insisted on with severity, let us frankly confess that we owe to the intercourse with Italy, the improvement and the restoration of many of the noblest arts that grace society, and add to the delights of life. Through their indefatigable application and ingenuity they revived the science and skill of the Greeks and Romans in architecture and statuary, of which the remainder of Europe had few if any ideas left, and the introduction of which has since altered this part of the world to a surprising advantage, by filling it with

magnificent edifices, and by teaching men to render their dwellings equally elegant and comfortable: most of the residences of the great were little better of yore than immense dungeons, or piles of stone, seldom laid together with any attention to symmetry, and chiefly calculated for strength and duration; the habitations of the lower sort were proportionably rude and defective in their construction.

The European music of latter ages is no less materially indebted to the Italians: they brought skill, taste, and propriety, into every species of composition; and their performances are held in admiration to this day, notwithstanding the numerous disciples and rivals they have formed in every part of Europe. We should recollect that during many centuries this delightful art had no other rule but that of the ear; it was their genius that raised to so exquisite a degree of perfection one of the highest enjoyments of human life.

I need not remind you that the noble art of painting was revived in all its branches by

Italian ingenuity; it had been, during many ages, gloomily employed in darkening rooms and churches by a profusion of ill-fancied representations of things and persons depicted on the windows, the chief and almost only merit of which consisted in the liveliness and durability of the colours. This splendid and valuable art had not in those unpolished ages been applied to one of its most excellent and agreeable uses, that of transmitting to the view of posterity the resemblance of illustrious personages, or of those an origin from whom endears their likeness to the spectator.

When we reflect that the Italians renewed and improved in the highest degree those various arts, long neglected and nearly lost in the obscurity of barbarous ages, we must candidly own that they have motives of just pride for having conferred such benefits upon mankind, and have a right to command the grateful esteem of nations that have the happiness to entertain a due sense of their value.

We can hardly abstain upon this occasion from venting our execration of those lawless plunderers of Europe, who think themselves

entitled, by the right of mere force, to deprive men of the only means left them, after the loss of their property and possessions, to sooth their calamities by contemplating the monuments of their former splendour. But, as if the brutal conqueror had resolved even to extinguish the very remembrance of better days, those masterpieces of art that attracted the admiration of all Europe, and were proofs of the superior genius and merit of the Italians, have been torn from them in the hour of pride and insolence, and with a view, one might imagine, to annihilate their talents, by taking away at once the most powerful aids and incentives to emulation.

Exclusive of the arts that have been mentioned, the Italians have claims upon our esteem of a more important nature. There is no province in the republic of letters which they have not cultivated with distinguished success; they have particularly led the way to excellence and perfection in the most instructive department of human knowledge, that of history. Here their genius appears in its favourite element; as complete productions have flowed from their pens as any that

modern times can boast; they are too well known to need recapitulation.

It is somewhat singular, that with so much wit and quickness of parts, as well as brilliancy of imagination, the Italians should not have made any considerable proficiency in the dramatic line; herein they have not equalled their neighbours. The French, the English, the Spanish, and the German stage, are greatly superior to the Italian: when we reflect on the peculiar talents in the depiction of ridicule, and exciting laughter, for which the Italians are noted, it is not surprising they should exceed others in risible productions. But they are much surpassed by them in genteel comedy; nor are they comparable in tragedy.

This deficiency is amply balanced by the poetic genius they have displayed in other respects; of the three noblest epic poets in modern times, Tasso, Ariosto, and Milton, the two first belong to them; and the last excepted, have not their equal in any European nation.

After acknowledging the various merits of

the Italian nation, it may be permitted in the same spirit of impartiality to notice the flaws and imperfections of its character: a disagreeable but necessary task in the investigation of a great and remarkable people, but for this very reason the less to be omitted.

The Italians are no longer what they were at the splendid era of the revival of polite literature and learning, and of the liberal arts; they were then the chief actors in renewing and promoting them; but the disciples they made in process of time outstripped their masters. In the course of about a century after the reformation, Britain, France, and Germany, were become more fertile in men of classical and other erudition than Italy, which seemed indeed to be hastening to a downfal in pursuits of this nature.

This unhappy decline was not progressive, but rapid: towards the middle of the century preceding the last, the cultivation of Greek and Roman literature had suffered a shameful neglect among the Italians, when compared to the attention paid to it by the literati of the countries above mentioned. At the com-

mencement of the last century erudition continued at a low ebb; a moderate degree of skill in the Latin was considered as sufficient among those, who, by their situations in society, ought to have been deeply conversant in books and languages. Far superior, seemingly, in these respects were the professed scholars of the universities in other parts of Europe. What renders this opinion the more justifiable, is the much smaller number of publications in the learned languages that appeared at this time in Italy.

It was not only in these matters they were fallen from the rank they once held; even architecture, painting, and sculpture, partook of the decay; the spirit of these noble arts seemed to have emigrated to France, which in the reign of Lewis the Fourteenth acquired a superiority therein which is still preserved; though, it may be presumed, with great difficulty in the midst of the storms which have agitated that country, and can hardly be said to have wholly ceased.

Formerly a traveller promised himself, and found in Italy, a vast variety of those enjoy-

ments that result from an attachment to the fine arts; but since the depredations of the French, he must be content with those inferior performances which their rapacious disposition could be prevailed upon to spare. This is the more to be lamented, as the loss of the celebrated productions they have carried away will never be supplied by succeeding artists. The race of the great masters, it may be said, has long been extinct. The motives that have for many years induced foreigners to visit Italy, were not the performances of the present, but those of former artists; many parts of Europe now affording men of equal, if not greater abilities in painting and sculpture than are produced in Italy at this day.

The only art wherein the Italians may be supposed to preserve an incontestible superiority, is that of music. This is owing to the multitude of churches and chapels to which revenues are annexed for the maintenance of choirs; a consideration that engages so many parents to educate their children in a manner that may qualify them for admittance.

SECTION III.

Observations on the People of Rome at this Period—Superstitious Ceremonies and Festivals their principal Pastime—Their national Vanity—Grandees of Rome chiefly Ecclesiastics—Their formal ways of living and behaving—Averseness to Conviviality and good Fellowship—Fondness of the Italian People of Rank for Equipage and Parade—Their domestic Parsimony—Excessive cautiousness of Speech and restraint of Thoughts in Company and Conversation—Grandeur and Influence of the Clergy in the Papal Dominions—Deference paid to them by the Laity—The affability of their Manners—Their obliging Deportment to Foreigners, to the English especially—Studies and Occupations of the Monastic Classes.

ductions of art and ingenuity, or their amusements. Without stirring out of Britain, enough may be had of every thing merely entertaining: he that quits his country for the sake of these only, is accountable for the waste of the time and money he might have expended to better purposes at home.

The first object that presents itself in Italy to a discerning traveller, by which is understood one that has previously qualified himself by education and study, to judge of and benefit by what he sees, is the stupendous alteration of which human nature is capable in its most essential concerns. This he will readily discover by considering attentively the individuals he meets with in his daily intercourse, and by recollecting at the same time how much they differ from those who dwelt in the same country in former eras.

This amazing disparity will strike you no where more forcibly than at Rome. That portion of the Italian nation which inhabits the country where formerly flourished the most renowned of its ancestors, is now, by a sad reverse of things, become the residence of

the most degenerate of their descendants. It is principally at Rome we find the fewest traces of the heroic character of the ancient Romans: valour, eloquence, and the spirit of liberty, the three pillars on which they erected the immense edifice of their power and glory, are in a manner trampled upon in modern Rome, where superstitious imbecility, idleness, ignorance, and pusillanimity, form the general character of the present race, with few instances of exception.

With grief and indignation you will observe that the sole inheritance they have derived from the old Romans, is precisely that part of their character which made them ridiculous and contemptible—the genius of superstition. It infects whatever relates to the practical part of their religion; which, exclusive of the absurdity of many of its tenets, is here held out to the multitude as a matter of pastime and recreation, and serves to fill up the many hours of leisure and vacancy resulting from a general inactivity of life.

These exhibitions of ecclesiastical pageantry seem perfectly calculated to engross

the attention of the crowd, nor less adapted to the taste of the numerous actors; who perform the divers parts assigned to them with remarkable expertness and alacrity. Several, indeed, of the first members of the community are occasionally fond of making a capital appearance in them.

It is surprising, that in defiance of the opprobrium which they are confident these pitiful scenes cover them with in the judgment of half the European world, they should not scruple to display them repeatedly without the least diminution of the farcical circumstances attending them; especially at a period that calls so impatiently for a retrenchment of the many absurd practices that are a disgrace to religion, and which, by diminishing reverence, cannot fail to weaken belief.

But where faith is strong no shame can be felt. While immersed in these preposterous occupations, and thence justly become the derision of all judicious christians, they claim no less veneration than in the days of ignorance that clouded Europe during so many centuries. They carry this insensibility of

their degraded condition even into civil affairs; they have the unaccountable vanity still to retain the stile of that triumphant people before whom the nations trembled. The S. P. Q. R. was, till of late years, not seldom inscribed or carved upon public erections; and there still subsists among them an assembly that calls itself the Senate, though not consisting of more than two or three persons.

The whole of their public deportment is in unison with these lofty pretensions. After recording these proofs of vanity, it will excite no wonder that they should occasionally assume airs of importance and majesty, and speak of themselves as the adequate representatives of the people whose name they have inherited.

A country where priests govern, may very consistently be deemed subject to a theocracy. The grandees at Rome are accordingly ecclesiastics; but no one acquainted with their stile of living will envy them the high rank they hold in the community. The tax they pay for greatness far exceeds its worth;

they are continually deprived of the most agreeable comforts of human society, by the constraint and regulated forms of living and acting that accompany their most insignificant transactions; to say nothing of the studied solemnity without which they are cautious never to expose themselves to the public eye.

As constant habits become a second nature, they gradually contract a love of pomp and ostentation that forms their ruling passion, and prompts many of them to consume much of their revenues for its gratification. But this they readily submit to from a consciousness of the admiration and applause which a display of grandeur and magnificence commands from the public: its principal favourites here, as in other parts of Italy, being those who regale it with gaudiness and finery.

The influence they exercise as heads of the community, is attended with some unpleasing effects. As they are usually close and penurious within doors, they are extensively imitated: hence arises a reserved unsociable dis-

position, that characterizes the generality in the upper classes, inducing them to avoid much reciprocal intercourse, saving that of mere conversation, and studiously to keep aloof from that sort of festivity which consists in frank and jovial manners. No people in Europe are less acquainted with what is called good fellowship. Their noted averseness to this may partly arise from the usual narrowness of their circumstances, which produces excessive economy, not to call it niggardliness, in every kind of expence but that of equipage, the only article, together with its appurtenances of dress and liveries, wherein they are apt to be lavish. Their chief entertainment is to parade in their coaches abroad, while the utmost parsimoniousness restrains them at home from that good cheer and convivial mirth, which in other countries render domestic enjoyments the most valuable and attractive. But of social pastimes they have little more than dry uninteresting conversations, wherein their habitual cautiousness presides with so very oppressive an influence, that as whatever may be spoken is, through circumspection or timidity, calculated to give no offence either to government or individuals, so

the fear of trespassing against received opinions deters them from launching into any subject worthy the attention of an audience.

Such, indeed, are the necessary consequences of the government long established at Rome. The clergy have made this part of Italy their seat of empire, and compose a monstrous proportion of the inhabitants throughout the whole ecclesiastical state, as the papal dominions are pertinently called. Whatever relates to government, civil as well as religious, is in the hands or the controul of the priesthood; a class of men who seem, by the deference paid them here, to be considered as the properest of any to be trusted with the management and direction of all affairs but the military. Herein, if they do not assume the executive, they fully arrogate the directive part. Few employments of dignity or importance are out of their possession; if we except the illustrious house of the Colonnas (which claims the station of high constable by inheritance), there is not perhaps one noble family, of which a lay member is decorated with any post of prime eminence. Such indeed is the reverence which the clergy have

had the dexterity to propagate among all classes for their order, that the highest pinnacle of honour and ambition is to be considerable among them, and attain to the preferments reserved for those only who belong to their body. No family esteems itself so truly distinguished and conspicuous, as when some individual of it is a member of the sacred college, the title given collectively to those persons who are known by the name of cardinals. This appellation sounds as high in the ears of a modern Roman, as that of imperator did in those of the antient; as the wishes and endeavours of these aimed at meriting that salutation from the legions, the others are no less eager and indefatigable, and spare neither pains nor purse to procure that distinction from the papal court. Here the spirit of interest and venality reigns with an influence not exceeded, perhaps, in our electioneering scenes in England; between which and those of the vatican the sole disparity consists in the smaller number of the bribed, and the less noisy and tumultuous methods of corruption.

In this description of the modern Romans,

though many particulars are applicable to the other Italians, yet they suit with more propriety the character of the former; who seem to be the most remarkable for those peculiarities that distinguish their countrymen from other nations.

As the supreme power in the Pope's dominions is lodged in the hands of the clergy, the pomp of ecclesiastics exceeds that of other persons of distinction. Some privileges are annexed to the display of their grandeur, to the participation of which none of the laity are admitted; such as the number of their gentlemen retainers, liverymen, equipages, and the like. Precedence is given them every where; and you will often have occasion to observe that it is done with the most cheerful readiness, and without the least reluctance in any person, so real is the respect entertained for them. Thus, if a layman's carriage should meet that of a dignified clergyman, the former instantly gives way, after making the latter some very submissive compliment; and if a clergyman travelling should arrive later at an inn than the other, this latter will not presume to continue in possession of the best rooms.

Do not imagine, however, that this humility of behaviour in the laity, is any ways productive of pride and presumption in the clergy. To do the Italian ecclesiastics justice, they are far from seeking occasions to exert their authority; their behaviour is, on the contrary, remarkably mild and affable. It would be wronging them not to acknowledge that they are much more desirous of commanding veneration than awe: such you will generally find the clergy of Italy, whose obliging deportment to foreigners of a decent appearance, and gentlemanly behaviour, the English particularly, ought to be gratefully noticed. Though they look upon us as heretics, they treat us with a politeness and humanity which plainly evince that religious animosity has given way to the spirit of civilization and urbanity. Of this our countrymen have abundant proofs, in the esteem and consideration which they frequently experience from those reverend gentlemen, who seem to pay them a more than common attention, by preferably inviting them to their houses, and admitting them to their familiarity, and not seldom to their intimacy; fa-

vours which they are by no means so ready to confer upon other foreigners.

To sum up this matter impartially, you will find ecclesiastics in Italy remarkably civil and condescending, and particularly careful to abstain from superciliousness and austerity. It is by such arts they secure attachment and respect; they are far from lording it over the laity, with whom they live in the kindest habits of friendship and good offices reciprocally.

That portion of the Italian clergy which goes by the denomination of regular, is well worthy of your inspection; as it is from them the various orders of monks and friars originally proceeded that were formerly spread over so many parts of christendom, and still subsist in several, though probably approaching to the period of their dissolution in this revolutionary age.

There is, you will perceive, a material distinction between them and those that are called the secular clergy. While these live abroad in the world in the possession of their

benefices, the others, whether mendicants or possessed of lands and estates, are bound by many restrictions, and dwell together collegiately under the direction of a superior, who has the absolute controul of their actions, and whose temper and way of thinking must of course decide in a great measure of their happiness or misery. The lives they lead are commonly edifying and orderly; and though much learning is not usually found among them, they now and then produce men of abilities. Ingenious individuals are also frequently found among those whom they call lay-brothers, a kind of menials in the convents: these being generally bred mechanics, are employed, according to their statutes, in those trades and handicraft occupations they were brought up to, for the service of the community. Such of them as have a turn for curious arts, are indulged in the cultivation of them, and often become great proficients: hence several excel in those branches of manual ingenuity, that are the fruit of much leisure and application. Many extraordinary pieces of workmanship proceed from their hands, and carving, sculpture, painting, and architecture, have sometimes been carried to

a high degree of perfection in several of these monastic retreats; and redeemed them in some measure from the aspersions of indolence and inutility, so readily cast upon them.

SECTION IV.

Number of idle and needy People in Italy, living upon the Offals of Convents—Asylum afforded by these to Malefactors—Reflections on this Abuse—Dastardly Behaviour of Criminals sentenced to die—Superstitious Imbecility of the Italians at the Point of Death—Similar Instances in other Romish Countries—Lewis the Eleventh of France—Cæsar Borgia—Surprising Credulity of all Classes of People in Italy—Observations upon the difficulty of throwing off the Prejudices of Education—Probable Motives frequently for appearing to retain them.

SECTION IV.

A GLARING proof of the negligence and carelessness of the Italian governments, is the amazing multitude of vagrants and idle wretches, uninstructed in any lawful calling, unprincipled in their morals, and ready to follow any course of living that will exempt them from labour. Hence the prodigious numbers of hangers-on about the gates of convents and monasteries, the offals of whose tables are at stated times bestowed on the crowds of beggars that lie in wait for them, with an avidity that must convince every spectator how little else they have to depend on for their subsistence. Hence too, the respect of the populace for the multifarious denominations of monastics that abound in this country, and who have also, to the great detriment of society, other means to make themselves revered by the vilest dregs of the mob—the shelter which they afford to malefactors, who are always sure of finding an asylum in their cloisters or churches, or even on the very threshold of these.

This has long been complained of as one of the most flagrant abuses in civilized society. To render places consecrated to the purposes of religion, a refuge to criminals, is the more to be execrated, and ought to meet with less toleration in Italy than elsewhere, from the temper of the natives, which is violent and fiery to an excess that renders homicides too common occurrences, and by familiarizing mankind to such deeds, cannot fail to diminish their atrocity.

The ferocious and bloody-minded perpetrators of such murders, are usually pitiful and pusillanimous wretches, hurried by the passion of the moment to commit them, and otherwise cowardly and heartless. This clearly appears by their behaviour when brought to punishment; which, however, they often escape through the neglect and supineness of the legislature. On such occasions they turn out the most dastardly of mortals: with such horrors does the idea of death present itself to their apprehensions, that most of them can scarce be deemed alive at the place of execution; widely different in this from our malefactors in England who generally submit to the decrees of

justice with coolness, if one may not call it fortitude.

No European nation, it is observable, betrays that superstitious debility of mind which so glaringly characterizes most of the Italians, whenever these think their lives in danger. In the fright and despondency that seize them, they have immediate recourse to all those methods of support and consolation with which their religion is so amply provided, and apply with a ridiculous confidence to the protection of saints and relics, and the other aids authorised by their persuasion.

From this disposition to the absurdest practices of bigotry, one is apt to meet in Italy with scenes that remind one of the strange behaviour of a dying king of France, Lewis the Eleventh, a prince of a very odious character, and whose memory is abhorred even in his own country. This monarch, who was a mixture of superstition, deceit, and every meaner vice, during his whole reign, made an end perfectly consistent with his past conduct, and his life and death were of a piece. When he found his dissolution approaching,

and that all human remedies were fruitless, he ordered his bed to be surrounded with shrines, containing the remains of those saints in whose patronage he most confided; hoping thereby either to retard the stroke of death, or, what is more probable, to render its consequences less dreadful than his conscience told him he was liable to, through the power and efficacy of their intercession in his behalf.

A persuasion that encourages men to put their trust in assistances of such a nature, is, to say the least, guilty of gross deception. From instances of so much infatuation, an inference may be drawn not favourable to the Romish cause; which is, that from the multiplicity of those imaginary helps, a man is often led to place too settled a reliance on them, and to promise himself, from the concurrence of so many expedients, that his case, be it ever so bad, can never become desperate; and if such an expression may be permitted on so serious a subject, that let his offences have been ever so heinous, he cannot miss of a reprieve through the solicitation of so many friends and patrons. Hence he con-

tinues in his flagitious career, unrestrained by those terrors which his credulous fancy has found means to soften or remove.

Certain it is that erroneous notions in that part of religion which has the immediate direction of our morals, may occasionally prove the source of great iniquity. But of the various instances that might be adduced in corroboration of the foregoing, to shew how intimately a superstitious disposition may be reconciled and blended in the human mind with the most atrocious profligacy, none is stronger than what has been related of that Catiline of his day, the infamously celebrated Borgia. Sullied with a complication of the most horrible crimes, and while his conscience staggered, as it were, under an accumulated load of guilt, he still had the assurance to provide himself with what the Romish casuists stile an absolution *in articulo mortis*, at the point of death. This, one may suppose, they look upon as a passport, against which no exception can be taken, and that entitles the possessor to mercy and favour.

It may perhaps be objected, that the present age is too enlightened to countenance such il-

lusion, and that both these examples of a close alliance between depravity and superstition, belong to a darker period. But it cannot be denied that there are still many remains of those absurdities among those of the Romish persuasion, especially in Italy, Spain, and Portugal, the three most bigoted countries of any that hold communion with the see of Rome.

A proof that Italy cannot be said to have shaken them off, is, that it abounds, beyond those parts of Europe professing the same faith, with shrines, relics, statues, and pictures of no small fame in the operation of wonderful events; their miraculous Madonas especially are known every where. We protestants are very apt to tax the priests and friars with artifice and juggling, in order to deceive the ignorant and credulous: but whether the accusation be false or true, it may be affirmed with certainty, that the majority of the priests and friars themselves as firmly believe, by all appearance, the stories they deal out to the commonalty, as any of their audience. Tales of the apparition of heavenly or of infernal spirits, of saints, of ghosts, and of supernatural transactions, attended

with particular and much insisted on details of time and place, with every circumstance to give weight to the relation, are as much in vogue among the clergy as among the laity.

We should consider that education prepares the mind for the reception of any tenet, however inconsistent with reason. With how much difficulty are the most resolute investigators of truth, able to shake off the prejudices contracted in their youth! motives of every kind stop their progress: they have above all, the opinion of that society they live in, to combat, which alone will stagger the modest and unassuming, and intimidate the most determined. After a world of investigations, they find it the wisest, that is to say the safest course, to keep their minds to themselves, unless their ungovernable zeal should urge them beyond the bounds of discretion. The majority, it may be presumed, prefer their personal security to the dangerous satisfaction of manifesting their sentiments. It is probably to this motive the apparent conformity of many sensible people in Italy, and elsewhere, to the established doctrines, may indubitably be ascribed.

SECTION V.

Demeanour of the Italians in their Churches —Sacred and prophane Oratory—Travelling in Italy very incommodious—Houses of the Commonalty miserably furnished—Those of the better Sort seldom in a good Stile— This Part of the grand Tour pleasing chiefly to classical Scholars and Connoisseurs—Little amusing to others—Low State of the Italian Stage till of late Years—Operas only excepted—Italian Concettis—Cicisbeys—Italian Women—Matrimony among the fashionable Classes.

SECTION V.

After endeavouring to account for the apparent credulity for which the Italians are so severely stigmatized, often without a proper inquiry into the cause, let us enter their churches, and examine the behaviour of the generality, which is always composed every where of unfeigned believers in the religion of their country.

In no part of Europe is the deportment of people so theatrical in their places of worship as that of the Italians in their churches; the numberless gestures that accompany their devotions, strongly denote the internal agitation of men fully convinced of the rectitude and necessity of what they are doing. The variety and efforts of gesticulation in many of their preachers are singular, and exceed the dramatical vehemence of a French actor. An Italian, when holding forth, knows not sometimes where to stop; and though he

contains himself within his pulpit, which, however, is made large enough to admit of great motion and activity, yet his body appears in a sort of confinement, from which one would imagine he is every moment endeavouring to break. His countenance expresses every emotion of his soul: he seems possessed with hope or fear, grief or joy, horror and shame, or serenity and satisfaction, just as he thinks the subject of his discourse requires that he should throw himself into the various aspects and attitudes corresponding with those different passions. This in Italy constitutes popular eloquence. Far from appearing affected, such a method of preaching is so well adapted to the disposition of the auditors, that tears are drawn, or countenances cheered, and proofs of sympathizing with the feelings of the speaker, are abundantly exhibited by his audience.

From the Italian style of preaching, one may form an idea what their mode of pleading must be. While their sacred oratory is on the footing above described, well may they in prophane matters carry their speech and action to a still greater degree of warmth.

This they do occasionally to an excess almost incredible to those who have not been eye witnesses of it. The most apposite method of conveying an idea of some of the Italian methods of figuring at the bar, is to imagine Harlequin, Punch, and Pantaloon, at high words together: there is not a gesture, a contortion, or a grimace, of body, limbs, or visage, unexhibited; and as the pleaders are not circumscribed by a pulpit, there is sometimes no limitation to their agility and motions but that of the hall they plead in.

One might reasonably infer from the number of gentlemen of every part of Europe who visit Italy, that suitable accommodations would be provided for their reception; but to speak truth, the article of travelling is a very discouraging one in many parts of Italy, their inns being, with few exceptions, the seats of inconvenience and poverty. It is only in their large cities that one meets with decent habitations; those upon the roads are poor and mean; and what is remarkable, they deserve this stigma in those very districts where a traveller's curiosity is principally interested, the countries in the vicinity of Rome and

Naples, where some of the most valuable monuments of antiquity are found in the greatest abundance.

From the general poverty, and still more from the indolence whence it proceeds, cleanliness is not much studied among the Italians of the lower sort. Neither public nor private houses have usually the appearance either of wealth or neatness. Those of the commonalty are miserably furnished, and in those of the better sort the furniture of their best rooms is often shabby, old fashioned, or ragged. Were it not for pictures and statues, the interior parts of many, if not most of their grandest dwellings, would not merit inspection. It is the architecture that chiefly recommends them, and even there it is only the outside we admire; they understand little of the commodious distribution of apartments, an object much better consulted in France and England.

These various considerations render that part of the grand tour which is performed in Italy, more unpleasant than might be expected, to those who are not deeply enamour-

ed with the sight and examination of antiquities, with music, and the three sister arts of architecture, sculpture, and painting. They who seek for other sources of enjoyment here, will find themselves disappointed; their public diversions are not of the kind that please an English or a French man of education, who require something more than what merely gratifies the sight or hearing. This, from its endless repetition, becomes too empty and unimpassioned for those who have been used to the elegant and impressive recreations of the stage in France and in England, the countries where they have long been and are still conducted with most propriety and taste.

The Italian theatre remained many years after the revival of literature and the fine arts in a state of meanness that rendered it unworthy of being considered as a rational and gentlemanly relaxation. It is only of late years that some persons of genius have at length rescued Italy from the imputation of wanting capacity for the production of comic scenes above the relish of the vulgar, and of excelling only in buffoonery.

To this day the Italians are noted chiefly for their operas; but those of Metastasio excepted, who has infused into his compositions elevation of sentiment and pathetic interest, and thereby raised them to the dignity of tragedy, there are few of which the merit is not solely confined to the music; the poetical part is bombastic and insipid, and intolerable to a reader of any taste.

But this is not the worst consideration attached to those effeminate amusements. They have a much more pernicious influence on the disposition and manners of people than seems to be suspected; they nourish a frivolousness of mind, and depress its vigour and energy by absorbing it in objects unworthy of its attention; they slide into conversation, and degrade it with concettis, a species of wit very current in Italy, and reputed by some a refinement of which none but a quick and lively fancy is capable. The French, however, very uncomplaisantly as the Italians say, call them *pensées fausses*, wrong-headed thoughts; and we blunt Englishmen are pleased without ceremony to stile them downright nonsense. Of this sort of wit a defi-

nition is not necessary to those who have perused those medleys of harmony and absurdity, imported hither from Italy, and acted with such applause. Concettis form the very soul and spirit of these compositions; the only purport of which is to link together a set of soft, sounding phrases, the drift and meaning of which are almost unintelligible: but they have the never failing power of charming the ears of the many, who, in favour of an agreeable modulation, seem very willing to dispense with wit and imagination, ingredients that seldom enter into these performances.

I will now touch upon a subject of which it is proper you should have an idea; but of which I frankly acknowledge that I have a very imperfect notion. The accounts of it that I have heard are not completely satisfactory, and it is involved in doubts and uncertainties. The subject I mean is that of the Cicisbeys, a sort of beings unknown to Italy in former days; but of which the name is now in every one's mouth, native and alien, though much disagreement prevails in the reports that are current concerning them. They

are considered by some in the light of friendly associates to those persons of rank and fashion who have engaged in the matrimonial state, and whose fair partners require more attendance than their occupations allow them to spare. Thus the company and conversation of their wives devolve in their absence to these friendly associates, who are chosen for this purpose by the ladies upon whom they have the honour of waiting.

Such a situation may appear very flattering to a young gentleman, unwilling, from sundry motives, to venture on a wife, and yet desirous of the soft amusements resulting from the society of an elegant female. But if my information is correct, this employment of a cicisbey, though delightful in expectation to the young and gay, proves often upon experience the very reverse: many a one that courted it with eagerness, has rued the day of his admission to a servitude which robs him of every moment of his liberty, and gives the lady, under whose banner he has listed himself, an absolute command of his person, his time, his means, his credit, and whatever he can call his own. An Italian woman knows

no reserves; and he that pretends to her good graces must divest himself of his will and inclinations, and make an entire sacrifice of them to her caprice. Thus a cicisbey is a perfect slave; and though it is pretended that in return no favours are denied him, yet even upon such a supposition the price he pays is far beyond the value he receives, when we reflect that he barters for it his freedom and peace of mind, and sometimes too, it is added, the prosperity of his affairs; as connexions of this nature have retarded advancements in life, through the impediments thrown in the way of activity by the assiduous attendance insisted upon by the lady to the service of whom he is bound by the fatal office he has accepted.

If this account of a cicisbey may be credited, it is a scandalous proof of the basest depravity in the man who submits to such indignities, as well as in the woman who commits them. But if viewed merely in a light of gallantry, such a connexion is so undesirable, so far from answering the expectation of the refined voluptuary, what a shocking picture it displays when we examine it ac-

cording to the rules not only of honour and morality, but of that necessary decorum, the loss of which is the last stage of infamy! Seldom do people throw away all appearances of modesty until they have wholly divested themselves of the reality.

In a country where the externals of religion are kept up with so much form, a stranger must be surprised at such a profanation of the married state in the upper situations of society, as if they were exempt from the laws of such an institution, and as if matrimonial felicity were an object of an unfashionable nature, and adapted only to the taste of the vulgar.

What an idea must we entertain of any government openly tolerating a practice radically subversive of the first principles that hold the community together, by destroying the motives on which the reciprocal attachment of the sexes is founded. Is it possible that where indifference, if not aversion and contempt, cannot fail mutually to subsist, the worst evil that can happen to a family will not necessarily ensue?—the neglect

of a progeny for which only one of the wedded parties can be reputed to feel real affection. But the fatal consequences of so shameful a practice do not terminate in private life: not only the bonds that should unite different families are broken; the strength and unanimity that would have thence accrued to the public in the management of its various concerns are lost, and the state becomes materially a sufferer.

When you have considered these effects of cicisbeism, you will naturally incline to pronounce it one of the most detestable of those enormities that fashion authorizes in Europe. A custom the more surprising, that the country where it now prevails was formerly remarkable for inclinations and manners that seemed to exclude it for ever; jealousy being at that time one of the most distinguishing characteristics of the natives. But as if it had been preordained as a proof that any excess hardly ever fails to beget another of an opposite tendency, they are now fallen into the other extreme, and their jealous disposition has subsided into carelessness and unconcern respecting the conduct of their wives.

Most travellers concur in preferring the Italian to the French women in point of comeliness. But the education of the former is much less attended to. Musical qualifications excepted, those accomplishments that render the ladies in England and in France so acceptable to persons of understanding, are not much sought after by the generality of Italian females: they depend chiefly upon their native subtlety and finesse to ingratiate themselves with those whom they deem worthy of their notice. They seldom bestow much of it upon any but their own countrymen; seeming rather inclined to undervalue foreigners, whose downrightness they little admire, as ill corresponding with that craft and cunning which accompanies their own actions and discourses, and throws an air of mysteriousness over their conduct.

From these premises it may be justly inferred, that the art of intriguing is eminently current among the fashionable people in Italy. That innocent, pure, and sentimental passion, which the sanction of strictest virtue authorizes, what in short we call love, can be little known where licentiousness is openly

avowed, and fears no shame. Hence the sordid motives which, to the disgrace of most nations, have so much influence over men in their matrimonial connexions, are still more despicably prevalent among the upper ranks in this country.

Whatever may have been said of the tyrannical constraint under which the French noblesse kept their daughters, it is, if possible, exceeded here. An Italian female of high birth, bred in the prison of a cloister, is brought forth when marriageable, to receive her sentence, and conducted like a victim to the altar, there to be made a sacrifice to a man of whom she hardly knows the face; none of those antecedent homages of a lover, none of that preliminary acquaintance which may prepare and give birth to reciprocal affection. Thus, as no medium of courtship intervenes, no opportunity is afforded to create liking on either side; hence their nuptial alliances are followed by the scandalous connexions above described.

Wherever human nature is subjected to such treatment, all the finer feelings of both

SECTION VI.

WHEN the substance of things is gone, men are often apt carefully to retain the appearance. Thus, after the loss of their power, the French nobility reluctantly parted with their titles; and thus the Italians are in the midst of their dependance on others, more infatuated with high and mighty appellations than any people in Europe.

It is in truth to them we are indebted for those many titular appendages that distinguish the various ranks and stations of society in modern times. The court of Rome having for ages been the centre of negociations on subjects of universal importance to all Europe, and been esteemed the supreme seat of authority in many temporal and in all spiritual matters in this part of the world, it became of course the model of all the courts in christendom. Thus the many ceremonious forms and phrases with which it loaded the transaction of business, were

adopted as precedents; and the nominal honours which its policy so liberally annexed to the mention of all those from whom an ample retribution was expected, were copied by other states. Hence originally emanated that profusion of epithets importive of personal dignity, which custom has now made so current throughout Europe.

In those dark periods ignorant nations would readily derive their notions and institutions from the Italians, who were fully qualified to be their preceptors; and whom their most studious and enlightened individuals were wont to visit from motives of instruction and improvement; much in the same manner that many of the sages of antiquity travelled into Egypt for the acquisition of knowledge.

This reverence for Rome lasted until the reformation; since which epocha learning and polite letters have been so generally diffused, that it is surprising an enlightened world should not yet have laid aside these remains of ignorance and ill taste, and restored that unaffected propriety in the modes of

speech and intercourse, for which the ancients are with so much reason admired.

There is not a more striking instance of dissimilitude between the ancient and modern inhabitants of Italy, than the vanity and fulsomeness of these in their titles and honorary denominations, and the plainness and simplicity of the former. These, in their most triumphant periods, were content with the bare mention of their names and of the offices they bore, and seem to have been utter strangers to any insignificant additions, as well as to that preposterous multiplicity of complimentary expressions, which now, through the right of prescription, claim so inelegant an admittance both into correspondence and discourse.

Such is the affected stile of civility among the Italians, that not only the respectable parts of society are distinguished by epithets prefixed to their names, when committed to paper, but even those trades and occupations which, though honest and necessary, are of the low and menial kind, have also an adjective, or more, to precede, and, as it were, to

usher in with decency their persons and professions.

The remembrance of the ancient glory of their country, frequently induces the Italians to assume the names of the most famous of the old Romans; we sometimes hear of a family not one male of which is less than a Scipio, a Mark Anthony, a Pompey, or a Cæsar. They are apt to avail themselves of these trivial insignia of vanity, with as much fondness as if they could exalt the bearer into a person of consequence. Others are prompted by a similar spirit of ostentation, to indulge themselves in the groundless conceit of originating from some of the most illustrious families in old Rome; and happy is he who, by the similitude of his family name, can vamp up a claim of this nature.

In every part of Italy individuals of such pretensions may be found; but the citizens of modern Rome are the most alert on these occasions. So infatuated are numbers of them with a persuasion that more of that heroic blood runs in their veins than the world is aware of, that in an insurrection of the

people some years since, their ringleaders animated them with asseverations of this kind, and that opportunities only were wanting to call their courage forth, and prove they had not degenerated.

Notwithstanding the persuasion entertained by most people of the little spirit remaining among the Romans of this day, many of the better sort seem very unwilling to be convinced that it is so far extinct as generally asserted by foreigners. Human nature cannot, in their opinion, undergo so radical a change as to become the very reverse of what it has been; unless we are to suppose that the very stamina both of mind and body are liable to a total transformation, through the vicissitudes of life and fortune. But experience has frequently shewn that temporary depressions of their spirit have befallen nations in consequence of public misfortunes, without utterly destroying it, and that by conduct and prudence in their chiefs it has been wholly revived. Conformably to such precedents, though it may be acknowledged that through long neglect and ill policy, modern Rome has been many years on the de-

cline, yet the capacity and talents of its rulers at several periods have shewn, that with sagacious management its affairs might be retrieved. The people themselves have on some occasions displayed a readiness to second the determinations of government, that evinced no deficiency of resolution to act a vigorous part, when impressed with a due conviction that proper measures were adopted for the service of the state.

As to the want of military qualifications, they justly observe that every nation is liable to lose them through the lapse of time and of opportunities to acquire and preserve them. Were the political system of modern Rome framed on more active principles, these would gradually be diffused among the people, and effect an alteration in their temper and manners.

Such are the reasonings often in the mouth of those individuals in Rome, who feel for the reputation of their countrymen, and think them ungenerously treated in the descriptions of fastidious travellers, who rashly ascribe to the innate disposition of the natives what

flows from causes that would equally operate every where. Impartiality obliges one to coincide with this apology for the character of the modern Romans; they are not the only Europeans that come under the censure of having fallen off from what they were; but then we should acknowledge that this falling off is in the natural progress of things, and may in their turn become the destiny of those who now reproach the Italians with it.

It may be recollected in confirmation of what has been said, that during the war for the Spanish succession, at the opening of the last century, much resolution was displayed by the court of Rome in its opposition to the claims of jurisdiction over Italy by the imperial court of Germany, in the person of the Emperor Joseph, an ambitious and enterprising prince. Relying upon the alacrity that appeared in the people of Rome, and their determination to adhere firmly to government in support of its independence, the heads of the papal state had the courage to form a plan of defence which obliged that prince to employ a considerable force against them. Though meanly abandoned by their

side at a distance, not daring to trust itself in that then tumultuous city. But the inhabitants are now as submissive as they were then refractory.

It may indeed be said that a peaceable obedience prevailed throughout all the states and principalities of Italy, until the turbulent spirit of the French revolution threw them into confusion. It was the more easy to effect this, that little or no attachment subsisted on the part of the people to their sovereigns; whom they considered in no other light than as masters imposed upon them by the force of arms, and in the appointment of whom they had no choice.

From such motives proceeded the notorious indifference of the Italians for the families that reigned over them, and their passive and careless acquiescence under the frequent changes and revolutions that have transmitted the sovereignty of different parts of their country through so many rival houses successively. It was always to be noticed, that while the contest lasted between these, the people stood aloof, and gave themselves little

concern about the respective pretenders, holding it immaterial by which of them they were to be ruled, and determined to avoid as much as they could, involving themselves in blood and desolation from the sole motive of family zeal. Few Italians are inclined to draw their swords in such quarrels. The disputes in their country for the right of dominion have been maintained by foreign powers, whom consanguinity or political connexions interested in the support of the various claimants: the individuals of the countries contended for, interfering no further than private views of gain, or of ambition, might prompt them to espouse the cause of either party.

It is not surprising, therefore, that in a country, of which the natives are so liable to be transferred from one lord to another, without their assent or participation, they should feel no affection or reverence for their masters. Thus a disregard for the persons of their princes and rulers is remarkably diffused through all Italy; no where, however, more apparently than at Rome, where personal sovereignty is usually of so short a duration,

and administrations are of course so often devolving through a diversity of hands and interests. This necessarily produces an idea of transitoriness, and proves an effectual bar to that settled and permanent respect and attachment, which only a stability of men and measures can impress upon the subject.

Whether the new-fangled notions, they deserve no other name, which have been imported into Italy by the French, will have any permanence in that country, must be decided entirely by the destiny awaiting the various establishments they have made. Should their arms retain the superiority, they will of course maintain the systems which they have forced upon the natives: but a reverse of fortune will certainly overturn them, and probably restore Italy nearly to its former state.

SECTION VII.

Considerations on the long Subjection of the Italians to Foreigners—Opinion entertained by the Emperor Charles the Fifth, of the relative Characters of the Italians, the Spaniards, and the French—Reflections upon it—Want of Steadiness and Determination in public Affairs, the principal Cause of Italy falling under the Dominion of Foreign Princes—Former Attempts to expel them frustrated through internal Disunion—Jealousies and mutual Hatred subsisting between the different People in Italy.

SECTION VII.

SINCE the wars originating from the opposite claims of the French and the Austrian princes to various parts of Italy, this country can hardly be said to have had any government or political views which it could strictly call its own. The House of Savoy, and the Republic of Venice excepted, every other state was either subjected to a foreign power, Spain, or swayed by its influence. Rome itself, though it preserved an appearance of independence, and in some cases even of supremacy, was constantly liable to the secret controul of the Spanish monarchs, whose dominions surrounded it on every side, and whose power indeed was irresistible in Italy, till towards the middle of the seventeenth century.

Placed in such circumstances, the Italians were obliged to bend under the degrading weight of a foreign subjection, and lost gra-

dually that warmth of interest in public affairs, which can only subsist where men feel themselves of some consequence in the state of which they are members. But as the state itself was enslaved to the will of strangers, its members became of course indifferent to concerns that were no longer their own. Hence an apathy and carelessness took place in whatever related to the public; and the only feeling excited was that of indignation at being excluded from the management of what they had the clearest right to consider themselves exclusively qualified to superintend.

An additional consideration was the general superiority of their capacities to those of their masters. Neither the Germans, the French, or the Spaniards, were equal to them in point of political knowledge, and domineered over them merely through dint of force. Those three nations were thoroughly sensible how much the Italians exceeded them in acuteness of understanding. The greatest and ablest of the foreign princes that ruled over Italy, the emperor Charles the Fifth, did full justice to the character of the natives. From his frequent residence among them,

and the multiplicity of transactions of every kind wherein he was personally concerned, he had numberless opportunities of becoming well acquainted with their disposition and abilities, and of comparing them with those of the Germans, French, and Spaniards, with whom he was equally conversant. This famous prince, many of whose sayings were noted for their wit and sagacity, often declared it his opinion, that the Italians were a wise people both in appearance and reality, while the French had the reality without the appearance, and the Spaniards the appearance without the reality.

The particulars of his observation respecting the two last nations, are certainly not ill founded. Notwithstanding an outside of levity, no people are more intelligent and dexterous than the French, in the prosecution of their interests; and though gravity of deportment characterizes a Spaniard, the pride and presumption attending it have a natural tendency to lead him into many errors. The Italians preserve a just medium between them; they have neither the pertness nor flippancy of the former, nor the punctilious

solemnity of the latter; but excepting their extravagance in the pulpit and at the bar, and their buffoonery upon the stage, are men of a judicious behaviour in the ordinary occurrences of life.

After this acknowledgment, it cannot be denied that the prudence and circumspection of the Italians, whether in their public or in their private affairs, is rather of the passive and cautious, than of the active and enterprising kind. While it secures them from the mistakes caused by precipitation or by dilatoriness, the two chief failings of their French and Spanish neighbours, it produces a sort of hesitation at the propriety of the measures they propose to take, or rather a diffidence in their own strength, that either discourages them from attempting to carry into execution their plans, however well concerted, or clogs their undertakings after they have been entered upon.

On considering the various events in the history of Italy, it will readily appear that to this want of steadiness and of determination in national matters, it has been owing for

many ages, that notwithstanding the advantages which nature has put into their hands, the Italians have suffered their country to be perpetually enslaved by foreigners. Italy is on every side surrounded by the highest mountains in Europe; and no part of the continent is better fortified by situation against the entrance of an enemy; and yet none is more frequently invaded. Had the natives a stock of resolution equal to their political abilities, they would long since have delivered themselves from the troublesome guests of whom they so bitterly complain. But it may be safely predicted that until they can be brought to form a union of force among themselves, sufficient to preserve their country from foreign claims, and till they have at the same time fallen upon some means to revive a martial spirit among the natives, there is no prospect of their becoming independent of other nations. It has been asserted, that the revolutions effected by the French in Italy, will probably rouze the warlike disposition of the people of that country, rather dormant than extinct in consequence of the many unfavourable events they have experienced. But should

this happen, it will require a considerable length of time to eradicate the habits of indolence and supineness, so profoundly rooted among them during a succession of centuries.

They once indeed thought themselves in a fair way to drive the barbarians, as they stiled the Germans, French, and Spaniards, out of Italy. This was under the pontificate of the forementioned Julius, whose ardent wishes and hopes to compass that intent were continually in his mouth, like the necessity of destroying Carthage in that of Cato. But the fatal connexions of that pontiff with those foreign powers whom he proposed to play off against each other, and render subservient to his favourite design, drew him beyond his mark. Want of unanimity among those from whom he had promised himself a concurrence necessary to effect his plan, prevented him from proceeding in it; and as unseasonable jealousies were entertained of him, they influenced of course his own conduct. All these unfavourable incidents united to form an insuperable bar to the efforts of Italian policy, and to keep that people in

subjection to those barbarians whom they so much hated, and despised still more.

The evil genius of Italy has prevailed ever since; and causes of a similar nature have produced the same effects to this day: otherwise the natives, fatigued with those endless vicissitudes of government that have so long afflicted their country, would have been driven by tyranny and hard usage to confederate in their own defence, and to resume a sufficiency of their ancient spirit, aided by their political skill, to have recovered and maintained their independence.

But the defect of unanimity is an impediment that seems unmoveably fixed in that country. Beside the long subsisting calamity of foreign influence, there is a domestic evil still more detrimental to the public, by obstructing that mutual cordiality among the natives, without which there can be no solid basis for a political association.

The inveteracy which the individuals of the different parts of Italy harbour to each other, is an object of astonishment to all foreigners.

There subsists between them a reciprocal hatred, or rather detestation, that utterly annihilates the very seeds of patriotism, by fomenting animosities that totally banish the reflection of their being fellow inhabitants of the same country. Hence the idea of a national body is unknown in Italy; the several divisions of which are apt to consider themselves as so many distinct and separate nations. They treat each other accordingly with an unfriendliness, not to say an aversion, that leaves little hope of any future union.

Woe to the people among whom such antipathies exist, as alienate them from each other nationally and characteristically. Such a situation is the certain forerunner of civil dissentions and calamities, which are the clear consequence of personal animosities widely diffused. Should internal hostilities not break out, still the natural strength of a state will be considerably impaired if that indispensable condition annexed to the obtaining and preserving public prosperity, mutual good will among subjects, be wanting. Heart-burnings and feuds will unavoidably result from such a deficiency, and lessen the dignity and importance of a nation.

Let the fatal consequences of this acrimonious spirit among the Italians, prove a warning to ourselves against that satirical disposition which often induces the natives of these kingdoms to carp and sneer at each other in so illiberal a manner. It certainly betrays much imprudence, as it so frequently produces high words and serious frays; and tends manifestly to weaken the unanimity now more than ever necessary for the welfare of the state.

The unhappy spirit of enmity so tenaciously rooted in the Italians towards each other, originates in the political jealousies long entertained between the states and principalities into which Italy is divided. Quarrels and suspicions among the heads have produced aversion and rancour in the members. The Romans, Neapolitans, Florentines, and Genoese, hold each other in abhorrence; and express their reciprocal malevolence in the harshest language that ill-natured ideas can devise: the Romans, for instance, say that seven jews are requisite to make a Genoese, and seven Genoese to make a Florentine; and they stile Naples a paradise, inhabited by devils.

These scandalous sarcasms are sometimes in the mouth of individuals of distinction; who seem to forget that by countenancing such infamous abuse they not only disgrace their rank, and diminish their personal respectability, but open the door to recriminations that involve them indiscriminately with the basest and most worthless in those calumnious representations which people, when exasperated, level at all classes, and which the Italians in the sharpness of their wit, know how to apply with merciless dexterity.

SECTION VIII.

Suppression of Freedom in Discourse through all Italy—Italian Literati fearful of meddling with public Subjects—Confined in their Studies and Speculations—Manly Knowledge and Liberty of thinking at a low Ebb in Italy—French and English Writers far superior to the Italian in those Respects—Consequences of the Decrease of Erudition in Italy, and of its Inferiority to other Nations in the Cultivation of solid Learning—Imprudent Conduct of the Court of Rome on the breaking out of the French Revolution.

SECTION VIII.

You will need very little company or acquaintance in Italy, to discover a universal suppression of freedom in discourse. There are no people more inclinable than Italians in power, to receive umbrage from those liberties which a person cannot sometimes avoid taking with the politics of a country he visits or resides in. These in Italy are a sanctuary, into which none but the legally authorized dare to enter. Though foreigners may be connived at, the subjects of no state are bold enough to expatiate freely on its concerns.

The necessary consequence of this restraint is that the topics of conversation are pretty much confined. The knowledge of those men of parts whose lucubrations might enlighten and benefit the public, seldom sees the day; and is cautiously hidden in their closets, or communicated only to some select and sure friends, who in their turn are not de-

sirous of seeming better informed than their superiors.

You must not expect therefore to profit much by the knowledge of their literati, whose learning, the classical excepted, is in general of little utility either to themselves or to others: if solid and profound on subjects of material importance to society, they fear to display it; if merely philological, beyond which they seldom dare to soar, or applied to some point in natural or moral philosophy, or metaphysics, even here they must be careful not to exceed the limits prescribed in the schools, and will not venture upon discussions that might draw them off their guard.

Hence they principally apply themselves to professional branches of science, such as medicine and its collateral studies, mathematics, and astronomy. But objects of this nature, though of great importance, have not that diffusive popularity which awakens the attention of all men, and are not of course the usual subjects of conversation. They are necessarily limited to particular classes, and being remote from the common pursuits of the world, excite but little of its curiosity.

Wherever the cultivation of that knowledge which relates to man and his various concerns, is a dangerous attempt, liberal and manly studies cannot flourish. Hence you will find them at a very low ebb in Italy; where you will meet nothing to compare with that universality of excellent disquisitions which employ so many celebrated pens in France and England, and have rendered those two countries the most illustrious seats of learning and literature at this day.

The Italians in truth do not seem so interested as they were formerly in the glory accruing to a nation from its intellectual superiority over others. For many years they have had few writers of eminent merit among them. Pope Clement the Eleventh, a man of sense and letters, and who filled the papal throne with great dignity during the first twenty years of the last century, used often to lament this deficiency, and was zealous in his exertions for a remedy.

It must have long been apparent to reflecting people, that a time would come, when through want of that respect which abilities

and intellectual eminence only can command, the deference and veneration enjoyed by the papal see must be lessened in a fatal degree. Late events have shewn how low its power is fallen; but independently of the violence that has overturned its authority, antecedent events had prepared this downfal. Though men are not prone to look into the remote causes of events, but are generally attentive to those only which immediately precede them, yet it cannot escape the perception of the more judicious, that the great superiority in all kind of erudition which some other nations have acquired over the Italians, has certainly weakened, as it could not fail to do, that reverence for the court of Rome upon which it ought principally to depend for the support of its authority; and must consequently overthrow at last its influence over the minds of people; as such an influence can only arise from a persuasion of the greater wisdom and knowledge of those who possess it.

It cannot be denied, that the prudence and policy for which the court of Rome continued for ages so renowned, seemed to have for-

saken it at the unfortunate period of the French revolution. Instead of watching its progress with a cool and careful eye, the court of Rome had the temerity to oppose it with the antiquated arms of superstition, at an era when they were daily becoming powerless and obsolete. The result has been what sensible people expected; the papal sovereignty has been overturned, and Rome is now become the humble vassal of France, and dares not disobey the decrees of the French Government, however unjust or capricious.

SECTION IX.

Italians not prepossessing in their Manners, quaint, stiff, and ceremonious—Those in the southern Parts little addicted to good Cheer and Hospitality—Those in the Northern, most frank and open to social Enjoyments, and more acceptable to Foreigners—Their Opinion and Preference of themselves to the former—General Averseness of the Italians to the Military Profession—Number of domestic Retainers hence occasioned in the Families of Princes and Grandees—Affected Gravity of the genteel and upper Classes on most Occurrences—Causes whence it proceeds—Their favourite Entertainments—Circumspection attending them.

SECTION IX.

The essentials of good manners are common to all civilized nations; but many of them are deficient in that polite ease of behaviour which enhances the value of breeding so much beyond its real worth; and often renders a person of no true merit, so much more acceptable than one who, though adorned with more solid qualifications, is wanting in this one.

The Italians are as liable to this imputation as almost any Europeans; a studied rotation of quaintness in the modes and expressions of civility, infects their conversation and renders intercourse stiff and ceremonious; the trivial incidents of casual meetings, or of transient visits, have their forms and regulations, as if propriety of conduct should not be left to the good sense of the parties concerned. Hence the cheerful freedom that ought to accompany the common occurrences of life, is banished from society; the true fe-

licity of which flourishes in Italy as little as any where.

This leads one to observe that frank, mirthful, and convivial people will not readily meet with corresponding characters in Italy; the frank and open will have the wary and reserved to encounter, and the jovially inclined will be exasperated at the abstemiousness and parsimony they will have such frequent occasions to witness.

Hospitality does not abound in this country; an Italian surveys you as it were at a distance, and like a party in war that dreads falling into an ambuscade, he makes his approaches by degrees, but seldom so near as to afford you an opportunity of making his house your home—this truly is his castle, impregnable and impenetrable to either friend or foe. Here he enjoys himself in his own way; and though sobriety and temperance are qualities very worthy of commendation, yet it must be granted that the Italians carry them at their domestic tables to an excess that authorises one to give them quite another name.

From this imputation of faring penuriously, we ought however to except the inhabitants of the northern parts of Italy, who are very far from being addicted to a sordid stile of living. Mirth and conviviality reigns much more among them than their countrymen in the south, whom they look upon indeed as the only true Italians, while they deem themselves rather partaking of their French and German neighbours, and speak of Italy as a country not strictly their own. Travellers concur in giving them credit for a judicious admixture of the manners of Italy and France. This renders them the most agreeable of all the Italians; and is the reason why foreigners are more pleased with, and often make a longer stay among them than in other parts of Italy.

A quality they value themselves upon, as possessing it in a superior degree to the southern Italians, is a military spirit; in this opinion of themselves the world readily coincides. It may be admitted, that were the inhabitants of the south of Italy, or, to speak more properly, of the ecclesiastical dominions, effectually weaned from those indolent

habits and idle courses of life that tend so certainly to effeminate the minds and enervate the bodies of men, a change might be made in their disposition, and they would recover their former bravery. But this could only happen gradually; time would be required to regain the manly character they once possessed: as it left them by degrees, and through causes that were long operating, it must be recalled in the same manner, step by step; and the present generation would probably pass away before another could acquire a character opposite to that which marks the present race.

But without dwelling upon speculations which would take years to realize, the testimony of all Europe is against the Italians of the present day, the mountaineers in the kingdom of Naples excepted, who are reputed a fierce and resolute race. Certain it is that they display very little of a warlike spirit; an aversion to the profession of arms is their general character. Few of the nobility, gentry, or commonalty, who have the least hope of advancing themselves by other means, however precarious and slender, will

embrace a military life: the armies, therefore, that so frequently fill Italy, are formed and recruited out of other nations. So well are the foreign officers apprised of the unwarlike disposition of the natives, especially those of the papal state, that they are never solicitous to enlist them to supply the deficiencies in their regiments. What renders this the more remarkable, is the strictness of the ancient Romans in receiving none but their own citizens into the legions. Little did they imagine, that in ages to come the race of men born and bred in the city and country they inhabited, would for that reason be judged unfit for soldiers.

In other parts of Europe persons reputably born are singularly inclined to bear arms; but an Italian gentleman delights chiefly in employments of the pacific kind, and that will not expose him to danger and fatigue. Thus many who are not desirous to become ecclesiastics, and yet have no fortune to depend on, instead of exerting their industry to acquire one, prefer the bread of idleness and indolence in the service of some grandee. Hence it is that in Italy they who are decorated with the title of princes, count

so many poor gentlemen in their retinue, who find means to make shift with much less than a little ingenuity and application would procure them in a more creditable way; could they be brought to think the exercise of their capacity in necessary or useful callings not dishonouring, and had the activity of mind sufficient to undertake such a task.

The court and city of Rome has many of those princes, mostly descendants from the relations of the several popes, who upon their exaltation to the pontifical throne, create them such, and by large donations enable them and their posterity to live up to the title. But though they do themselves little credit by the splendour of their housekeeping, which is usually formed on the parsimonious plan of avarice or of narrow circumstances, yet no individuals are more tenacious of the privileges relating to exterior pomp and parade; they insist upon them with as much jealousy as a British patriot could be supposed to do on matters essentially connected with the welfare and constitution of his country.

This serious attention to trifles reminds one of the solemnity that accompanies the Italians on most occasions; they preserve, in the midst of ridiculous amusements, an air of steadiness and gravity which is truly preposterous, and inconsistent with the purpose they have in view, which one would think must be relaxation and merriment; but of these they certainly lose the real spirit, by clogging them with so many formalities. This probably proceeds from the perpetual guard they keep on their thoughts, and the intense caution lest any unweighed expression should escape them in the hours of festivity, when most men are apt to give a loose to their cares, and betray what passes within them. They wear, in truth, such a padlock of circumspection on their lips, that no individuals have less to answer for indiscreet words than the Italians. They strictly observe the first part of the counsel one of their countrymen formerly gave to an English traveller, which was to keep *I pensieri stretti, ad il viso sciolto*, a close mind and an open countenance. It is not surprising they should be strangers to the last, when we consider that the first is a continual obstruction to it; nothing being

more difficult for persons of a dark uncommunicative temper, than to appear frank and unreserved.

From these causes they prefer to all others those diversions where a feigned character is assumed; such, for instance, as those poetical dialogues in the extemporaneous composition of which they are astonishingly expert and ingenious, and display a fund of wit and vivacity that prove how capable they are of greater things. The assistance of vocal music is not less frequently called upon: but above all, masquerades are the darling amusements of high and low, who find therein an ample field to expatiate without incurring danger from the inadvertencies of speech, of which little use is made on such occasions that can be properly called their own.

Their conversational meetings are, through the like motives, conducted with such vigilance and foresight, that no subject is started which might warp them from their intention of saying nothing they might recollect with anxiety for the consequence. Their cautiousness extends even to the prevention of

unguardedness in others. Thus, when a foreigner is invited to those conversaziones, matters of moment are industriously avoided in his presence, lest through the curiosity, or freedom of speech peculiar to some nations, but very unwelcome in Italy, he should be prompted to propose any questions it would be disagreeable to resolve, or to hazard assertions which, though not replied to, might leave a sting in the memory of the audience.

SECTION X.

Recapitulation of the divers Subjects that have been treated of—With concluding Reflections on the probable Consequences of the Revolutions effected by France in Italy.

SECTION X.

WHILE making these observations upon the Italians, you will carry in your mind that the unfavourable pictures occasionally drawn of their present character, arise from circumstances which would affect in the like manner that of any nation in the same predicaments. They were at one time, through a peculiar concurrence of the most extraordinary causes, the first of men: through a similar concurrence of opposite causes they are now the reverse. The predominant passions of their ancestors, patriotism and thirst of glory, are become obsolete and antiquated among their descendants; slavery and oppression have destroyed the first—idleness and pusillanimity the last. There is no country in Europe of which the inhabitants feel so little of that enthusiastic warmth for its prosperity, that zealous attachment to its interests, and those ardent wishes for its renown, which are the constant inexhaustible sources from which, in all ages and countries,

so much heroism has flowed. That laudable desire of acquiring fame by illustrious actions, which animates their more daring neighbours, excites but little emulation among the generality of people in this country. This degradation of character is so visible at Rome, that a military man is now become the most unacceptable guest in all companies. Even the fair sex, whose predilection for gentlemen of the sword is in every other part of Europe conspicuous, will here turn from them with marked indifference, and bestow their attention and complaisance upon individuals clad in a clerical habit, which at Rome is the most honourable, and always the most prepossessing in favour of the wearer; not on account of the respectability of that profession which it indicates, as considerable numbers of those who assume it are not clergymen, but because, whether they belong to the clergy or to the laity, it is among those who choose to appear in this dress, that are found the beaux and women's men of modern Rome. The ladies here are peculiarly partial to those artful enamoratos, and from an admiration of those talents for intrigue, of which these acute gentlemen are

such complete masters, are the more susceptible of a preference to them over other competitors.

It is with reluctance one is obliged to confess, that notwithstanding the native endowments of the Italians, their wit, their capacity, the various talents they have displayed, and their general aptitude to make a splendid and respectable figure in the world, they have long betrayed a lamentable neglect of their abilities, and forfeited much of that esteem which they might otherwise claim from the European nations.

But as the character which a people once bore is not readily parted with, the Italians still retain a high sense of what they have been, and seem to consider it as an argument for valuing themselves as much as if they were in possession of it at this day. Hence they foster the same pride that took its rise in the ascendancy which they enjoyed in former ages, when their country was the capital seat of learning, and of every polite and useful art, and when the court of Rome possessed the spiritual, and almost the tem-

poral empire of the western world. They cannot forget their past grandeur; and as a master unwillingly sees himself excelled by his scholar, so the Italians, who have been the preceptors of Europe, are mortified at the superiority some parts have acquired over them, and would fain uphold the idea of their departed merit.

But there subsists an obstruction to such pretensions, insurmountable while it lasts, and that appears radically inherent to their present condition; this is the indolence resulting from their political situation and superstitious tenets, which promote divers modes of living absolutely destructive of those calls that awaken industry. This, it is well known, unless stimulated by want and necessity, is apt to grow remiss and torpid. Hence a large proportion of Italy, instead of laborious manufacturers and tradesmen, vying with each other in the improvement of their respective business, and eager to provide for their families, is filled with monasteries and ecclesiastical foundations; the useless employments and celibacy of whose inhabitants conspire to impoverish and depopulate the

land; which, though not absolutely deficient in numbers, contains nothing like the far greater increase of mankind which it might maintain, were industry and the cultivation of their country to be encouraged in proportion to its fertility, and the ingenuity of the natives.

It is obvious that such in the nature of things must unavoidably prove the effects of a doctrine which recommends a single life as the most acceptable to the deity; while on the other hand the wretched policy of their different governments, almost inattentive to those measures wherein the benefit of the subject is concerned, is engrossed by the study of preserving arbitrary authority, and of exercising it to the fullest extent.

When a people have reconciled an aversion to labour with a spiritless resignation to poverty and dependance upon others for subsistence, so degrading a perversion of their faculties plunges them into the worst state of effeminacy. Provided they can obtain a miserable sustenance, accompanied with shews and empty gratifications, as the degenerating

Romans did their *panem et circenses* of old, there is no rouzing them from their inactivity; they prefer their wretched condition to the most splendid one that can be acquired only through action and energy.

Objects that amuse and soothe the mind without putting life and vigour into its functions, are evidently the bane of public prosperity, by debasing and corrupting the inclinations of men, which is the never failing consequence of habituating them to indolence and inaction. Examples of this species of depravity abound in those unbeneficed churchmen and semi-ecclesiastics, of whom such multitudes in Italy hang like a dead weight upon society; a class of beings whom scantiness of means to subsist obliges to use every despicable art to preserve themselves from absolute want. These, together with the dregs of such as labour to keep pace with persons in genteel life, form a body of men whose chief occupation is to waste their lives in a round of ignominious dissipation, who live, as it were, on the fortune of the day, and dedicate it to that equally scandalous and unprofitable business of attending upon

those religious farces, the exhibition of which is so universal a pastime in Italy, and on those many other empty shews and means of mispending time, with which this country is so plentifully provided.

People who follow such a plan of life, can never rise to a situation of respectability; careless of important concerns, and mindful only of trifles, they become unserviceable to themselves, and useless to society. Hence the extremes of indigence are the lot of so many individuals in Italy, and hence a listless and idle disposition is contracted, which pervades the generality in all classes, and renders them averse to much exertion either of body or of mind, particularly the latter.

When such a disposition is become habitual, it benumbs the intellects, and shuts up every avenue to energy: no aptitude remains, nor any desire for such knowledge and information as are not to be obtained without considerable toil. An entrance for these, to speak metaphorically, requires a large opening of thought, which is never effected without laborious application arising from the

conviction of our intellectual wants, and of the shame attached to ignorance, and from a contempt of those frivolous pursuits from which no utility can be derived.

In the course of these observations on a people deserving of as much notice, for various reasons, as any in Europe, constant care has been taken to treat the subject with the strictest impartiality. In doing this, it has proved a disagreeable but a necessary task, often to dwell upon the dark shades of the picture. It is unpleasing to a liberal mind to expose the vices and failings of individuals; it cannot, however, be avoided when it is our duty to set those on their guard who might otherwise suffer through want of such timely warning: but it is much more unpleasing to hold out to public view the flaws and defects of whole nations. Severity, nevertheless, is equally necessary in both cases: in the first, it is used in order to provide for private safety; in the second, like an open proclamation, it gives notice to those whom it may concern, in what manner they are to proceed in the business they propose to undertake, for the rendering it secure and bene-

ficial. It teaches them at the same time what they are to expect, and prepares their minds for a proper consideration of the multifarious objects that are to pass, as it were, in review before them. Without an anticipation of this kind, they arrive at the scene of action totally unacquainted with the duties incumbent on them, and ignorant how to conduct themselves with those from whom it is intended they should be duly qualified to reap advantage.

Motives of this kind ought to induce us to be free and explicit in delivering our thoughts upon nations at large, and not to suffer an unseasonable complaisance to withhold censure when merited. We are equally bound to enumerate their bad as well as their good qualities, and ought to incur no blame for our reprehensions while we keep within the limits of impartiality and decency of language. We may therefore venture to bring forward with confidence and resolution, those general characteristics that bear hard on the people we have been reviewing; as, without injuring the innocent (which doubtless many must be in the numerous excep-

tions that always accompany strictures of this nature) the punishment thus inflicted on the guilty becomes a preservative to the virtues and merits of other nations, who are taught to reverence and cherish them by viewing the deformity of their opposite vices and blemishes.

One cannot close these remarks on the inhabitants of Italy, without sincerely lamenting the revolution that has subjected them to France. It has not only subverted their former states and governments, and laid them at the feet of French tyranny, but it threatens also to hurl into general destruction the religious, the moral, the political interests of that unfortunate people. However vicious their character might have been previously to those disasters, still there were powerful restraints in its way, in the long established religion of the country. While its tenets subsisted unshaken, the iniquity of man recognized some boundaries, which would never have permitted it to overflow society to the extent it will probably do when that potent fence is removed. For though the shadow of it is allowed to subsist, the continual innova-

tions in all matters both sacred and profane, that are daily taking place in all countries reduced to the obedience of France, will certainly reach Italy, and involve it in the annihilation of all those establishments, opinions, forms, and precedents, that may appear improper to be continued; and which the resistless will of a lawless conqueror, in a fit of wrath or displeasure, may sentence to abolition.

Should ever the fatal decree pass his lips, like the gates of hell, in *Paradise Lost*, thrown open by Sin, it would deluge not Italy alone, but every contiguous region, with unbounded wickedness. The dread of a futurity no longer impending over ferocious minds, their atrocity would rage in all its horrors, and human wretchedness would be completed without hope of alleviation.

Let it not be said that such fears are ill founded. When once religion has been deposed from that seat of divine authority on which it commanded the veneration of men, and controuled their passions, when they see it moulded into such forms as human capri-

ciousness thinks fit to direct, they will consider it no more as the emanation of heaven, but as the fabrication of man, and will entertain no further reverence for its injunctions than for the laws of the state, the observance or the violation of which can only affect their present existence; beyond which they will readily be apt to conceive there is no other.

Such, in all likelihood, would in a short lapse of time prove the consequences of a total reduction of those parts of Italy, that still retain some traces of their former governments, but which France, in due season, proposes to incorporate with her own. So weighty a consideration ought to move every individual, who dreads and foresees the result of such a calamity, to use every means to impede it. The heads of the French government are well known to harbour no scruples in the execution of the projects which they are continually forming. Whence can such laxity of conduct proceed but from a renunciation of all those sacred ties that have hitherto presided over the public relations between men? The breach of these ties has

successively been followed by the breach of the less powerful, and forebodes a dereliction of all others. Can it be doubted, that wherever the power and influence of France extend, the examples it sets before the eyes of the world will be imitated? and consequently that the principles upon which society has so long been acting, will be overthrown, and force alone remain the spring of action among men.

It will possibly be replied, that force is in reality the impelling motive that governs mankind. This may be true in some measure, but never without great restrictions, unless the rulers of nations have discarded all religious and moral principles, and of course disregard an hereafter. But where those principles remain, they will exercise a sway over the most profligate: however these may give way to the violence of their passions, still they experience a remorse within that effectually checks the impetuosity of their criminal career, and often wholly arrests it. Instances of this sort abound in all ages and countries. But when all vestiges of future punishments and rewards are effaced from

the mind, conscience vanishes together with them; and both the public and private happiness of men depend entirely on the casual disposition of those whom they dare not disobey; and who having the supreme power in their hands, will act independently of any motive but that of self gratification. If the world has suffered so much from those who have acted under a controuling principle, what can it expect from such as are under the controul of none.

The only hope remaining to human society in the deplorable extremity that seems to threaten it in so many parts of Europe, is, that people of judgment and resolution will be found to stem this torrent of infatuation. Happily a large portion of the community differs entirely from the pernicious opinions so rashly embraced, and so unadvisedly avowed by numbers. While a spirit of resistance is maintained against those opinions, their progress will certainly be interrupted; and the notoriety of their evil consequences will probably induce even those who may be inclined to adopt them, to refuse them their open countenance. The truth

is, that imprudence and indiscretion can alone encourage them. On this ground we may flatter ourselves, that after having sufficiently experienced the calamities which they must necessarily produce, the wiser individuals at the helm will be convinced of the indispensable propriety of setting their faces against them. Thus their influence and credit will gradually diminish; and when the great have ceased to support them, they will lose their popularity, and people will revert to a better way of thinking.

THE END.

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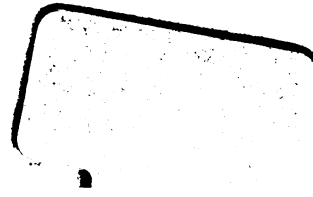
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